

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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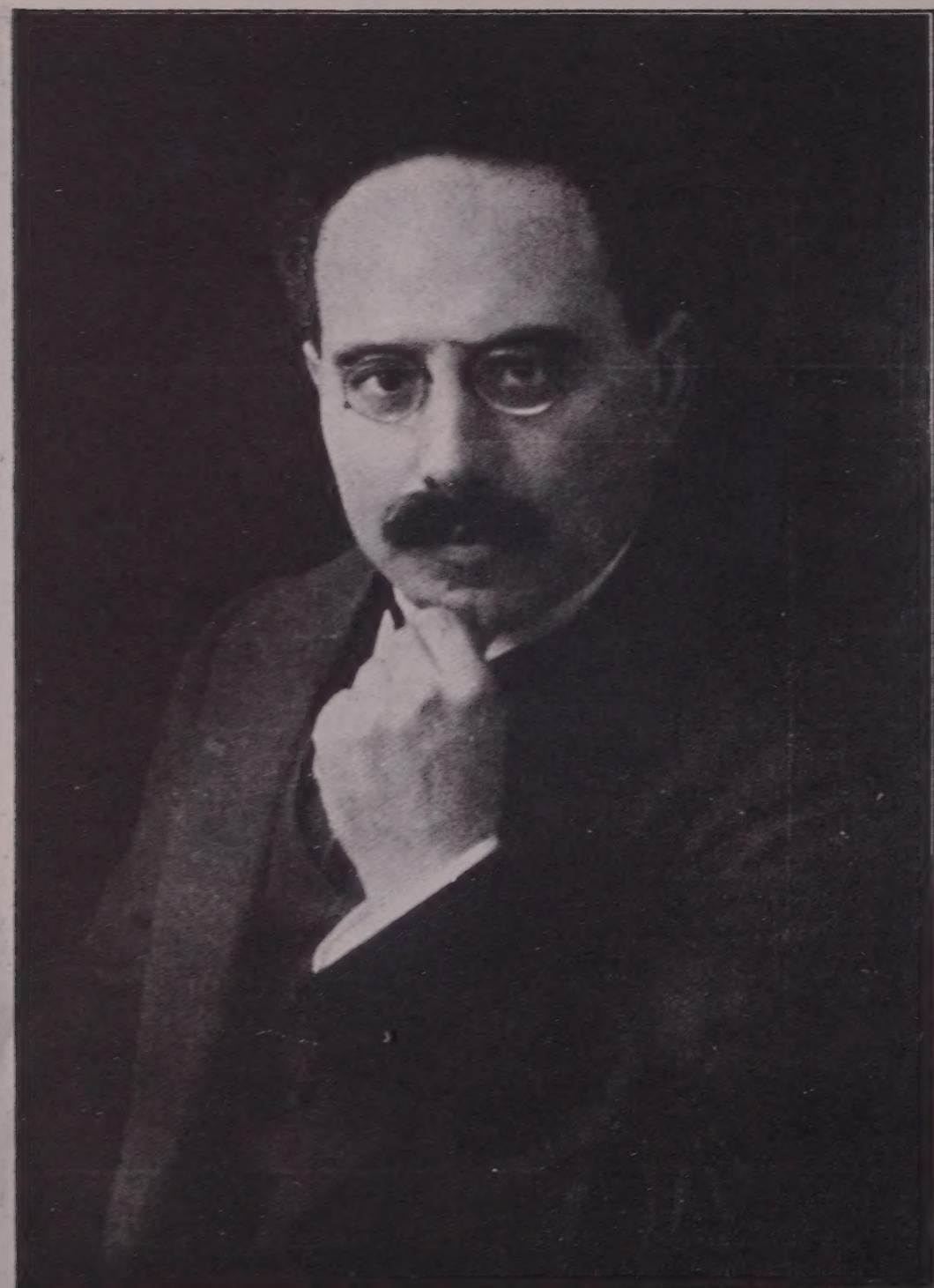
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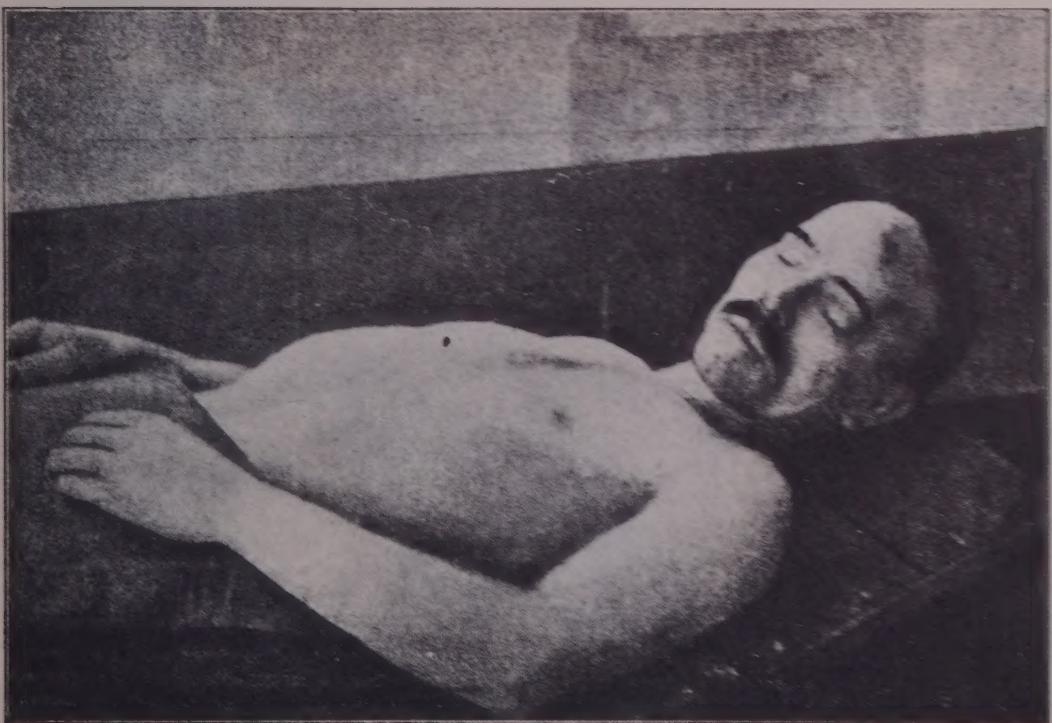


Karl Liebknecht.

grauemalerei



The Funeral of Liebknecht.



Liebknecht in the Morgue.



Jean Jaures.



J. M. Sverdlov.



Sverdlov on his death-bed.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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MANIFESTO

OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

To the Workers of the World.

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party proclaimed its programme in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was pursued by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades, Communism has travelled a hard road: of ascent, followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way foreshadowed by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the programme proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its corruption, admixtures of opportunism and social-patriotism, and to unite the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the Communist revolution.

* * *

Now that Europe is covered with heaps of smoking ruins, the most ruthless of the incendiaries are searching for someone to blame for the war, aided by their professors, politicians, journalists, social-patriots, and other supporters of the bourgeoisie.

For a long span of years, Socialism predicted the inevitability of the imperialist war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps, and of all capitalist countries in general.

Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the congress of Basel, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, are still discovering the author of the war in the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social-patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, to-day, in vulgar sycophancy, join with the Socialists of the Entente countries in accusing as the arch-criminal the deposed German monarch whom they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt, and to gain the goodwill of the victors. But, alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed, in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosure in all their immeasurable vileness.

Up to the very outbreak of war British diplomacy preserved a mysterious secrecy. The Government of the City was careful not to have it known that it intended to take part in the war on the side of the Entente, so as not to alarm the Berlin Government and put off the war. London wanted war: hence it acted in such a way as to make Berlin and Vienna build their hopes on English neutrality, while Paris and Petrograd were sure of England's intervention.

The war, which had been prepared for decades, broke out with direct and conscious provocation by Great Britain. The British Government reckoned on giving support to

France and Russia only until, exhausted themselves, they had exhausted Germany, its mortal enemy. But the strength of the German military machine proved too formidable, and forced a real and not merely an apparent intervention in the war by England. The rôle of the third party, which by old tradition should devolve upon Great Britain, actually fell upon the United States.

The Washington Government was induced to agree to the British blockade, which considerably interfered with American speculation in European lives, by the fact that the Entente countries made up by generous profits for their infringement of "international law." The enormous military superiority of Germany, however, obliged even the Washington Government to give up its apparent neutrality. The United States assumed, in regard to Europe, the same part that England had played in former wars and has tried to play in the last, i.e., the plan of weakening one side with the help of the other, by joining in military operations, with the sole aim of securing for themselves all the advantages of the situation. Wilson's stake, on the American tombola method, was not high, but it was the last, and he won.

The contradictions of the capitalist system have been converted by the war into animal torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. Thereby the academic quarrel among Socialists over the theory of increasing misery, and also over the gradual transition from capitalism to Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavoured for decades to gather together from all countries of the earth real and apparent facts to prove the increasing well-being of the working class. The theory of the impoverishment of the masses was considered buried for ever under the contemptuous hiss of the eunuch professors of the bourgeois world and the mandarins of opportunism in the Socialist movement.

But we are faced to-day with the harrowing reality of impoverishment, which is no longer merely a social problem, but a physiological and biological one. The catastrophe of the imperialist war has, with one swoop, swept away all the gains of trade union and of parliamentary struggles. It has come into being from the inner tendencies of capitalism as much as the

economic bargains and political compromises now engulfed in a sea of blood.

Finance-capital, which flung mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production has been completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as the medium and regulator of capitalist commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general fatal crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief economic spheres, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating rôle out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilisation of petroleum from Baku or Rumania, of coal from the Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are regulated, no longer, by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force, in the interests of its own salvation.

Just as the complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarised not the State alone but itself also, so it can no longer fulfil its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who, before the war, exhorted the workers, in the name of a gradual transition to Socialism, to be temperate; who during the war, asked for a class truce in the name of "civil peace" and defence of the Fatherland; now again demand self-abnegation of the workers; in order to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of economic life,

so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition or to the rule of the trusts, syndicates, and other economic monsters. The only question is, what shall be the future mainstay of State production, the imperialist State or the State of the victorious proletariat? In other words, shall the whole of working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which, under the name of a League of Nations, aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy, here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the regulation of its disorganised and shattered economic life, and make certain of its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the proletarian dictatorship, which recognises neither inherited privileges nor rights of property, but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose will mobilise all resources and energies, introduce universal labour service, establish the régime of industrial discipline, in this way heal, in the course of a few years, the open wounds caused by the war, and raise humanity to new, undreamt-of heights.

* * *

The national State, which gave a tremendous impulse to capitalist evolution, has become too narrow for the development of the forces of production. This is making more and more untenable the position of the small States adjacent to the Great Powers of Europe and other parts of the world. Those small States came into existence at different times—as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, as strategic, buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialist pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power: mainly, the continuous opposition between the two imperialist camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled those smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wing of German militarism. After

Germany was beaten, the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious imperialism of the Allies, and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical "points" of the Wilson programme. At the same time, the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Tsarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as they are born, spring at one another's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied imperialists brought about certain combinations of small States, new and old, through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente imperialists, exactly as the imperialists of the Central Powers not long before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples—a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations—a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and makes the smallest and weakest peoples able freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralised economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, to a great extent a war to gain colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of colonies. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Negroes, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent.—What for? For the right to remain slaves of England or France. Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence, we witnessed a series of open rebellions, and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country, and feels itself to be such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves

to suppress during the war. In India, the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed in Bombay the greatest labour strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armoured cars in Bombay.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day, not alone at the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris, but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson programme, at the very best, calls only for a change in the billhead of the colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can come only through the liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants, not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and have taken the power into their own hands. Even now, in the more advanced colonies, the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation, but assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalist Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalist whirlpool, and Socialist Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organisation, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of Socialist economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship will also be the hour of your liberation!

* * *

The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power, the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy, and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalist development has undermined political democracy—not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcileable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian elements, as well as the slum-proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilised the régime of political democracy for its organisation against

Capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great intermediate masses on the farms, as well as in the cities, are hindered by capitalism in their historical development, and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practised by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America, plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks, which have been thrust aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the régime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions, which determine the destinies of nations, behind the back of Parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace to-day.

If the financial oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind Parliamentary votes, the bourgeois State has at its command, in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of capitalist technique: lies, demagogic, persecution, slander, bribery, and terror. To demand of the proletariat, in the final life-and-death struggle with capitalism, that it should follow lamb-like the demands of bourgeois democracy, would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel, that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In a period of destruction, when not only the means of production and transport, but also the institutions of political democracy are scattered and bleeding, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class, and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is provided by the workers' Soviets. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in the person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out, the task which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat has created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organisation capable of con-

tinually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working classes of city and village which are near to the proletariat. The indispensable organisation of the working class for self-government for the present struggle, and for the future conquest of power, has already been tested by experience in different countries, and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat in our time.

Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils (Soviets) are being and will be formed. To fortify these Soviets, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Soviets, the working class can counteract the disorganisation which brings into its midst the infernal anguish of the war, hunger, the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and the betrayal of its former leaders. By means of these Soviets, the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly, when these Soviets gain the support of the majority of the labouring population. By means of these Soviets, the working class, once attaining power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in Soviet Russia.

* * *

The collapse of the imperialist State, in all forms from Tsarism to extreme "democracy," goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilised by Imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasant against the landowner, of the labourer against the capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldiers against their commander, and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialist war, which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war, which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against civil war and the Red Terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who brought mankind to the brink of destruction had not prevented every forward step of the labouring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders, and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is *forced upon* the labouring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future, which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible, and, when it has become an iron necessity, to minimise the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the workers, and the formation of a Communist army as a protector of the rule of the proletariat and of its Socialist constructive work. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia, which arose and exists to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

* * *

Conscious of the universal character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organised Socialist movement for its international unity. The foundation stone was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the First International. The Franco-Prussian war, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to national Labour Parties. As early as 1889, these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organised a Second International. But during this period the centre of gravity of the Labour movement rested entirely on the national ground, within the realm of national parliamentarism and the narrow compass of the national State, and basing itself upon national industries. Decades of organisation and Labour reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the programme of social revolution, but denied it in substance.

They were lost in the swamp of reformism and self-adaptation to the bourgeois State. The opportunist character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the Labour Parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a death-blow to the First International, by revealing that there was not in fact, behind the social-revolutionary programme, any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International, by showing that, above the consolidated labour masses, there stood Labour Parties which had been converted into servile organs of the bourgeois State.

This includes not only the social patriots, who to-day are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as chosen confidential advisers and reliable henchmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle, and irresolute Socialist Centre which is to-day trying to revive the Second International, i.e., the narrowness, opportunism, and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present majority of the Socialist Party in France, the Menshevik group in Russia, the Independent Labour Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear, as before, with proposals of compromise and conciliation, and thereby paralyse the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and

corruption of the decadent official Socialist Parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations, from Babœuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

As the First International foresaw future development and pointed to the war; as the Second International gathered together and organised millions of the proletarians; so the Third International is the International of open mass action, of revolutionary realisation, the *International of deeds*.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatised the bourgeois world order. The task of the international Communist Party is now to overthrow this order, and to erect in its place the structure of the Socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against privileged classes, the bourgeois State, and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—UNITE!

Under the standard of the Workers' Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarians of all countries, UNITE!

On behalf of the Delegations:

of Germany
of Russia
of German Austria
of Hungary
of Sweden
of Switzerland
of America
of the Balkan Federation
of Poland

MAX ALBERT
N. LENIN
E. GEIBER
A. RUDNIAŃSKY
OTTO GRIMLUND
FRITZ PLATTEN
B. REINSTEIN
G. RAKOVSKY
UNSCHLICHT
(Yurovsky)

of Finland
of the Ukraine
of Latvia
of Estonia
of Armenia
of German Colonies on
the Volga
of Peoples of Eastern
Russia
of the French Zimmer-
wald Left Wing

I. SIROLA
SERIPNIK
K. GAILIS
G. POGELMAN
HEIKUNI
G. KLINGER
YALIMOV
HENRI GUILBEAUX

Workers of the World, Unite!

Long Live the First of May!

Long Live Communism!

To the Working Men of the World.

COMRADES!

THE celebration of the First of May was inaugurated exactly thirty years ago, in 1889, at the birth of the Second International. At an international congress of Socialists, then held in Paris, the working men of all countries decided that the first day of May should henceforth be set apart as a day for the mobilisation of proletarian forces, a day of struggle, and a day of international brotherhood. The "eight-hour day," the "abolition of standing armies," the "war against war," such were the mottoes of the First of May festival held thirty years ago.

The bourgeois classes of Europe awaited with the deepest apprehension the first May Day celebration which was to be held in 1890. In Vienna, Paris, and a number of other European capitals, the bourgeois classes held in readiness entire regiments of soldiers, expecting an immediate uprising of the working men.

The May Day festival has since become a symbol of proletarian solidarity and of fraternal unity between the working men of all nations. Every year the May Day festivities were attended by ever-increasing masses of working men and women.

In the meantime, however, elements hostile to the cause of the proletariat were beginning to insinuate themselves into official Socialism. Towards the close of its existence, the Second International had succeeded in utterly "discolouring" the May Day festivities. Officialdom was killing the greatest of all proletarian festivals. Its very soul was being crushed out of it. Some of the leaders of the Second International, who had sold themselves to the bourgeoisie, openly tried to impress upon the working classes the necessity of foregoing the May Day festivity.

When the imperialistic slaughter broke out, the wish of these mercenary leaders was gratified. On the eve of the First of May, 1915, the "Social-Traitors," both French and German, suggested that the working classes should forego that day's celebration.

"War to the bitter end," "War until victory," such were the catchwords in those days. The slaughter of the working men of one country by the working men of another was to go on indefinitely. In the interests of "home defence," the working men were not to stop work for one day, not even for an hour, lest, which God forbid, it prejudice the "war industries," i.e., the output of war supplies, with which the working men of one country destroyed the working men of the other. The official Social Democrats signed a "civil peace" with their bourgeoisie. Nothing was to break the good understanding between the workers and their masters. The May Day festival was to be sacrificed to that "civil peace."

Out of a festival of the proletariat, the May Day celebration was in 1915 transformed into the triumph of the bourgeoisie.

The decision of the official Social Democrats to abstain from the celebration of the First of May was greeted with diabolical laughter and scornful gibes by the bourgeois classes all the world over. To them, that decision had all the importance of a newly-adopted principle. The decision of the working men to forego their anniversary of international brotherhood, their yearly festival of labour and international goodwill, was worth as much and more, to the bourgeois classes of any country, as a victory on the field of battle.

Four years have gone by since then: four cruel years full of suffering. During those four years the bourgeoisie have ruthlessly destroyed the flower of the working classes and devastated

the countries of Europe with fire and sword. The imperialist slaughter inaugurated by the bourgeois classes is at present drawing to its close. The working men of all countries may now compute their losses. *Thirty millions maimed or killed, ravaged countries, millions of people on the verge of starvation, milliards of fresh war debts.* This is the sum total of the imperialistic slaughter. The war is at an end, and in those countries where the bourgeoisie have not yet been swept off their feet they demand from the working masses yet another "mere trifle": namely, that they should bear the costs, involved by the destruction of thirty millions of their fellow workmen and peasants.—"Pay off the loans, pay in the new taxes, for do we not deserve a reward for having succeeded in reducing the population of Europe? That is all we want, neither more nor less."

The Second International is dead. It signed its own death-warrant on August 4, 1914, when the French and the German social-patriots, with equal impudence, voted the war credits, i.e., cast in their lot with imperialistic slaughter.

Yet the idea of the International is alive. At no time has there been among the workers of all countries such an irresistible yearning for international unity as at the present moment.

Even as the earth, parched with the torrid heat of a protracted summer, longs for a few drops of vivifying rain, so the working men of all countries, wearied by four years of war, deceived and betrayed by their own leaders, are now longing for international unity.

The thieving imperialists in Paris are trying to create an "International" of their own, a Black International, which they call "The League of Nations." All workers conscious of the interests of their own class are perfectly aware of the fact that the so-called "League of Nations" is in reality a league of the predatory bourgeois classes for the oppression of the peoples, for the division of the world, for tyranny over the working men, and for the stamping out of proletarian revolution.

And the traitors to Socialism, those who, in the name of "Socialism," sold the working classes to the bourgeoisie and the landowners, have also endeavoured to create an International of their own—a Yellow one.

The attempt to recall to life the dead body of the Second International proved a failure. The

revolutionary workers of all countries refused to take part in the ignominious comedy that was being played at Berne. They refused to send their representatives to an assembly that called itself "International" merely because it was attended by the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the slayers of French and German workmen. Scheidemann and Albert Thomas, Branting and Henderson, Huysmans and Axelrod are all alike the henchmen of the bourgeoisie. The *yellow International* of Berne is but a branch of the *black International* of Paris.

The Black and the Yellow "Internationals" will, of course, join hands in trying to induce the working men of all countries to forego the May Day celebration or to give it the appearance of a festival of bigoted officialdom. Already, at the German reactionary Constituent Assembly held at Weimar, the Scheidemann gang, together with the bourgeoisie and the clergy, have passed a resolution to transform the May Day celebration into a "national and patriotic," i.e., bourgeois holiday, and the motto for that day is to be the claim to return to Germany her lost colonies, etc.

In 1919, however, an International of a different kind saw the light of day—the Red International, the International of Communism. Our Third International is an international association of the proletariat of all countries for the purpose of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, and of laying the foundations of an International Soviet Republic. Our Third International has taken upon itself the task of organising the international celebration of the First Day of May.

Working men and working women, soldiers, sailors, peasants, toilers all!

The Communist International calls upon you all to take part in the great proletarian festival on the First of May.

Proletarians! Look back! We see behind us innumerable corpses of our own brothers fallen in the deadliest and wickedest of wars. Look ahead! What are the promises held out to us by the bourgeois slavedrivers, should they remain in power? Nothing but a fresh war, a new period of slavery, billions upon billions of new taxes, starvation and perpetual oppression.

What are the circumstances under which we are about to celebrate the first May Day after the close of the imperialist war? The smoking

ruins of Europe, millions of proletarian children wasted with starvation. No bread is to be had anywhere, because for four long years the fields have been left untilled and their tillers have been engaged in slaughtering each other, in obedience to a nod from their slavedrivers. Cities have been depopulated. In some countries practically the whole of the male population has been sacrificed. Europe has been soaked in blood. To what end? Now that the deadly fumes of Jingoism are dissipating, and people begin to sum up the results of the war, everyone can see for himself what the ultimate end of the conflict was. Four thieving ministers of the "Great" imperialist Powers, lurking in the shadow of their secluded studies, are conspiring to divide the world among themselves, and for that purpose they think nothing of bartering countries as marauding gypsies would barter stolen horses. For the sake of *that*, and *that* alone, scores of millions of workmen and peasants have been massacred; for the sake of *that* alone did mankind conduct the war, which the Judases, calling themselves Social Democrats, acclaimed as "a war of independence," a "great," a "progressive" war.

A new world, however, is arising from the ruins of the old. The greater were the efforts of the bourgeois classes in all countries to keep down the Labour movement during the war, the more powerful has been the outburst of revolutionary flame after the war. This is the working men's revenge for the torture inflicted upon them by the bourgeoisie in union with the treacherous "Social Democrats."

Communism has come out into the streets. The Communist revolution is growing before our very eyes. A Soviet Republic in Russia, a Soviet Republic in Hungary, a Soviet Republic in Bavaria—these are the results of the recent struggle of the labouring classes.

Germany is in the throes of civil war. Throughout Germany there is not one city where the working classes are not in open insurrection against the bourgeoisie and the social patriots.

In the *Balkan Peninsula*, class war is in full swing, and it will soon burst forth into actual civil war. Communism may at any moment come into its own on the whole of the Balkan Peninsula.

In *Turkey* a revolution has taken place.

In *Austria* and *Bohemia* the workers are rallying round the glorious banner of Com-

munism, and the moment of the last decisive battle is drawing near.

In *France*, imposing demonstrations of working men are being held. The acquittal of the murderer of Jaurès has opened the eyes of the most unenlightened workmen in France.

In *Italy*, the struggle is at its highest pitch, and the Communists call for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In *England*, strikes are assuming the character of an epidemic. In various places workmen's councils spring up.

In *America*, the working men are coming out into the streets in readiness for a decisive struggle.

In *Japan*, labour troubles are spreading and growing in extent.

In neutral countries, such as *Holland* and *Switzerland*, hundreds of thousands of workmen have recently taken part in a political strike.

The proletarians are longing to unsheathe their swords.

Before this year is over Europe will be one great Soviet Republic. In all countries the workmen realise that the crucial moment has come.

Workmen's Councils (Soviets).—"In hoc signo vinces." Thus speak the workers of all countries.

The workers scornfully pass by the official Social Democracy with its gospel of "democracy," i.e., in reality of a bourgeois "democracy." The workers can see with their own eyes that in all advanced countries their precious democracy is nothing but the arbitrary rule, the unlimited dictatorship of a gang of robbers, bankers, and generals. The workers can see for themselves that under the most liberal of all bourgeois "democracies" the most illustrious leaders of the working class may be massacred with impunity, as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were massacred in Germany. The working men may see for themselves how the bourgeois classes of all countries have joined forces to strangle the already matured proletarian revolution in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria, and the nascent proletarian revolution in Austria and Germany. The workers of all countries have seen the Russian bourgeoisie sell itself first to the German Emperor, then to the French bankers, then to the bourgeois classes of Japan, England, and America, within

the brief space of one year. The working men are fully aware of the fact that nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat can avert the bloody horrors into which mankind has been precipitated by the bourgeoisie of all countries. The workers know that the proletarian dictatorship will bring about the victory of Socialism.

There is no middle course. Either the bloody dictatorship of generals, those butchers who kill hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasants to promote the interests of a gang of bankers or the dictatorship of labour, i.e., of the overwhelming majority of toilers, disarming the bourgeoisie, creating their own red army, and emancipating the whole world from slavery.

Down with the autocracy of tsars and kings! This call was heard in Russia in 1917, and it has been re-echoed throughout Europe. Down came the crowns from off the heads of Nicholas Romanoff, Wilhelm Hohenzollern, Charles of Austria, and of other butchers, great and small.

Down with the autocracy of capital! This call is being heard at present, when in most countries the working men are inaugurating a second revolution, when they are rising in obedience to a second signal, when they are preparing for their last and decisive battle.

The eight-hour working day—was the motto of the May-Day festivity in former times. The Soviet Republic has already gratified that wish. The workers of countries where the workers' councils are already in power are now contemplating the introduction of a six-hour day.

Opposition to bourgeois militarism. This old rallying cry of the First of May remains in force. In support of it we are now creating our own Red Army, the army of our own class, an army of our own kith and kin, an army of working men, an army of the poor, an army of Socialism. A Red Army is already in existence in Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, and Austria. The time is not far off when there will be a Red Army all over the world. The Red Army shall be victorious.

Down with the imperialist war! was the motto of working men throughout the world on the First of May. Down with *their* war, down with the war which the imperialists of the Entente are preparing to declare against the Soviet Republics in Russia and Hungary—this is our war-cry at present. Long live civil war, the only righteous war, a war in which the oppressed fight their oppressors!

The working men of all countries are in honour bound immediately to rise against such bourgeois governments as are trying to strangle the newly born and nascent Soviet Republics in Europe.

Down with the French imperialists, down with the bourgeoisie of the Entente, down with the band of freebooters who intend to send their armies into Russia, in order to restore the power of the landlords, to bring back the days of the monarchy, to restore to life the bourgeoisie.

French, English, American, Italian, Serbian, Rumanian, and Polish workmen and soldiers! Turn your bayonets against your own bourgeoisie! Your enemy is in your own country. Attack your own bourgeois governments from the rear. Force them to abandon every attempt to send you over to Russia or Hungary in order to throttle and assassinate the Russian and the Hungarian revolution.

Workmen and soldiers of Austria and Germany! Turn your bayonets against your own bourgeoisie and their flunkies, the Social Democrats! Lend a hand in bringing into being the new Communist society! No one but yourselves can save your country from those sufferings of hunger and unemployment to which it has been doomed by the kings, the bourgeois, and their generals, supported by the treacherous Social Democrats.

Workmen and soldiers of Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland! Your own bourgeoisie, and the imperialists of Germany and the Allies, are setting you against the great Soviet Republic of Russia. Remember this: the Russian Federal Soviet Republic is a bond of union between the working men of all countries, no matter of what nationality. Your bourgeoisie is using you to forge your own chains. Come out and fight! Come out into the street! On this first day of May take an oath to win freedom and power in every one of your respective countries!

Workmen, soldiers, and peasants of Turkey! You have begun your revolution. Carry it out to its conclusion. Do not let yourselves be deceived by your bourgeoisie. Create workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' councils. Create your own Red Army. Hold out your hand to all the Soviet Republics in Europe.

The assault has begun. The conflagration of the proletarian revolution is bursting forth with irresistible violence all over Europe. The moment is drawing near which our forerunners and teachers anticipated, and the advent of

which was foreseen by Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific Socialism. That which the best among mankind cherished as a dream is coming true. Our red banner, dyed in the heart's blood of long generations of heroes and martyrs of the working class, is now waving over the whole world. The hour of our oppressors has struck. The first day of May, 1919, shall become the day of assault, the day of proletarian revolution, all over Europe. That which the horror-stricken bourgeoisie was awaiting thirty years ago has now come true.

OUR MOTTOES :

Long live the world-wide Dictatorship of the Proletariat!

*Long live the International Soviet Republic!
All to the defence of the Soviet Republics in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria!*

Long live the International Red Army!

Long live the Third International!

Long live Communism!

Long live the Communist First of May!

Let innumerable battalions of the proletarian army parade the streets of all European capitals on the First of May, 1919! Let all toilers,

wherever they live and struggle, come out into the streets on the first day of May, 1919! Let every city and every village celebrate the first day of May, 1919, by an imposing demonstration. Let the cry: "Down with Capital! Long live Communism!" reverberate throughout the world!

Let the working men of all countries stubbornly cling to the rifles which the bourgeoisie, against their will, pressed into their hands in 1914. "Arms for the workmen, no arms for the bourgeoisie!" such is the watchword of the day.

The battles that have heretofore taken place in various countries are nothing but skirmishes between the outposts of Labour and Capital. The great decisive battle is still impending. Europe is vibrating with the hum of voices of indignant proletarians who are longing to rush into battle. Subterranean disturbances are being felt at various points of our planet. Thunder and tempest, blood and tears, hunger and illimitable suffering, attend the birth of the new world, the glorious Communist world, a world of universal brotherhood between toilers.

The great Communist International was born in 1919. The great International Soviet Republic will be born in 1920.

Long Live the First of May!

Petrograd—Moscow,
April 20, 1919.

*The Executive Committee of
the Communist International.*

Yesterday and To-day.

YESTERDAY was the day of the great lie—the last day of its power.

Of old, thread by thread, mankind carefully span the stout spiders' web of cautious, commonplace life, and imbued it more and more with lies and greed. The cynical lie, that man must feed on the flesh and blood of his neighbour, and that the instruments of production—*instruments of the struggle against nature*—should serve as instruments of the oppression of man, was counted unassailable truth.

And behold, yesterday, marching along this road, they reached the madness of a European war; its ghastly glare suddenly lit up the whole abominable nakedness of the old, close-spun lie; and we see the old world shaken to its foundations, shattered, its dark secrets laid bare; and to-day even the blind, made whole, see all the abomination of the past.

To-day is the awful day of requital for the lie that ruled yesterday.

By the force of the breaking patience of the nations the old rotten life is destroyed, and can never again be regenerated in the old shape. Is everything dead that is of yesterday? No. It will be killed to-morrow.

There is much that is horrible to-day, but it is all natural and comprehensible. Is it not natural, that those poisoned with the strong poisons of power—with alcohol and syphilis—cannot be magnanimous? Is it not natural that men steal, if theft was the fundamental law of yesterday? It is natural to kill men by the ten, by the hundred, by the thousand, when in the course of four years we have grown accustomed to kill them by millions. Yesterday's seed cannot but crop up to-day: the present day is cruel, but cruelty was born before it. Evil is worked by the deeds of men; nothing comes into being without us. Amongst the ruins of the past, all that it was bound up and blended with is clearly and distinctly visible, and all that was hidden in the souls of the downtrodden to-day rouses them to tread down others. Man stands before the mirror of history naked as a beast, all aflame with the fire of belated and needless vengeance; much evil may be said of the man of these days.

But it must be remembered that the shadows are so deep because the day is all too bright. It must be understood that to-day, in the dust, rubbish, and chaos of destruction, the great work of freeing mankind out of the strong, iron cobweb of the past—a work awful and arduous, even as the pangs of birth—has already begun. It must be felt that the evil of yesterday is living out its last hours, together with the men of yesterday.

It so happened that, into the fight for the triumph of justice, in the van of the nations, there marched the very weakest and most untried champions, the men of Russia—men of a country backward economically and culturally, men crippled by their past more than any others. It was but yesterday that the world counted them half savages, and to-day they march, starving, towards victory or death, glowing and intrepid as old war-worn warriors.

Every man who sincerely believes that the unconquerable striving of mankind after freedom, beauty, reasonable life, is not a fruitless dream but a perfectly real force, the only one capable of creating new forms of life: every man who believes that this force really is the lever which may shift the world: every honest man ought to recognise the world significance of the deeds of the most honourable revolutionaries of Russia.

What at present is being done in Russia ought to be looked on as a gigantic attempt to turn into real life, into real fact, the high ideals and words created and spoken by the teachers of mankind, the sages of Europe. Yesterday it was European Socialist thought that taught the Russian nation to think—to-day the Russian working man works for the triumph of European thought.

And should the honourable Russian revolutionaries—small in number, surrounded by foes, tortured by hunger as they are—be vanquished, the consequences of this frightful disaster will fall heavily on the shoulders of all the revolutionaries of Europe, of all its workers.

For this catastrophe—should it happen—all those will have to pay with their life and blood who do not feel, do not understand the terrible

struggle carried on day by day by the Russian workers.

An honest heart does not waver, honest thought is strange to the temptation of compromise, honest hands will not cease to toil while the heart beats—and the Russian workman

believes that his brethren in spirit will not allow the revolution in Russia to be crushed, will not let all be resuscitated anew that is mortally wounded, expiring, disappearing, that will surely disappear—if the great tasks of to-day will be understood by the revolutionary thought of Europe.

MAXIM GORKY.

The Third International and Its Place in History.

THE imperialists of the "Entente" are blockading Russia for the purpose of cutting off the Soviet Republic, as a hot-bed of infection, from the capitalist world. These people, who are boasting of the "democratic spirit" pervading their own institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic, that they do not perceive how preposterous their position is. Just think of it: the most advanced, civilised, and "democratic" countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying an undivided military supremacy over the world, are frightened out of their wits by a mere spectre, by a contagious *idea* emanating from a ravaged, starving, and, in their opinion, half-savage country! This inconsistency in itself is sufficiently great to help us in opening the eyes of the labouring masses in all countries, and in exposing the hypocrisy of the imperialists, such as Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, and their governments.

We are helped in this respect not only by the blindness of the capitalists, by their hatred of the Soviets, but by their bickerings among themselves and the tricks they play upon each other. They have entered into a regular conspiracy of silence: since nothing terrifies them more than the spreading of correct information about the Soviet Republic in general, and its official documents in particular. One of the principal newspapers voicing the opinions of the French bourgeoisie, *Le Temps*, has, however, published the news of the foundation in Moscow of the Third Communist International.

We beg to tender to that mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, to the recognised leader of chauvinism and imperialism in France, our most respectful thanks for its valuable co-operation. We are prepared to send to the *Temps* newspaper a written address, couched in the most emphatic terms, expressing our gratitude for their able and timely assistance.

The method used by the *Temps* newspaper for compiling its communiqué from our wireless clearly discloses the motives by which that spokesman of Mammon was guided. Its idea was to annoy Woodrow Wilson, to nettle his susceptibilities. "These are the people," it seemed to say, "with whom you think it possible to enter into negotiations!" The wiseacres writing at the orders of the money-bags are blissfully unaware of the fact that, in using the Bolsheviks as a bugbear to scare Woodrow Wilson, they merely supply the former with a free advertisement, and increase their popularity amongst the working masses. We feel we must reiterate our heartfelt thanks to the spokesman of the French millionaires!

The Third International has sprung into life under circumstances of such world-wide importance that no prohibitions, no mean and petty tricks of the Allied imperialists, or of the henchmen of capitalism, such as Scheidemann in Germany or Renner in Austria, can possibly prevent the news thereof spreading throughout the world and enlisting the sympathies of the working masses. These circumstances have been

created by the proletarian revolution, which is spreading from day to day, from hour to hour. These circumstances have been created by the tendency of the labour movement to set up *Soviets*. This new movement has acquired such magnitude as to have become truly "international."

The First International (1864—1872) laid the foundations of an international organisation of working men for the purpose of preparing their assault upon capital. The Second International (1889—1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement which eventually covered a wide field. This growth was accompanied by a temporary *lowering* of revolutionary standards, and a temporary increase of opportunism, which ultimately led to its ignominious breakdown.

The Third International was in reality created in 1918, after the protracted struggle with opportunism and "social-chauvinism," especially during the war, had resulted in the formation of a Communist Party in various countries. The formal recognition of the International dates from the first congress of its members, held in Moscow in March, 1919. The most prominent feature of the Third International—namely, its mission to carry out the principles of Marxism and to realise the ideals of Socialism and the labour movement—manifested itself immediately in that this Third "International association of working men" has, to a certain extent, *become identical with the League of Socialist "Soviet" Republics*.

The First International laid the basis of the international struggle of the proletariat for Socialism.

The Second International marked a period of preparation, a period in which the soil was tilled with a view to the widest possible propagation of the movement in many countries.

The Third International has garnered the fruit of the labours of the Second International, casting off the refuse of its opportunist, social-chauvinistic, bourgeois, and lower-middle-class tendencies, and has set out to *achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

The international union of parties directing the most revolutionary movement of the world—namely, the movement of the proletariat to throw off the yoke of capitalism—has the inestimable advantage of resting upon a basis of unprecedented solidity: on a number of

"Soviet" Republics which are in a position to bring about, on an international scale, the dictatorship of the proletariat and its victory over capitalism.

The importance of the Third Communist International in the world's history is that it was the first to put into life the greatest of all Marx's principles, the principle summarising the process of the development of Socialism and the labour movement, and expressed in the words: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This prescience, which only a genius could possess, this theory, which only a genius could conceive, has now become a reality.

These words have now been translated into all the languages of modern Europe, nay, into every language under the sun.

A new era in the world's history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off slavery in its last surviving form: the slavery of wage earners oppressed by capitalism.

Mankind is throwing off its yoke, and, for the first time in its existence, it is achieving real freedom.

How could it come to pass that the first country to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat and to form a Soviet Republic was one of the most backward countries in all Europe? It would not be misconstruing the facts to say that just this striking contrast between Russia's backwardness and its sudden leap, over the head of bourgeois democracy, to the highest form of democracy—the Soviet or proletarian democracy—was one of the causes which (leaving aside the fact that most Socialist leaders are still influenced by opportunist habits of mind and middle-class prejudices) rendered it difficult for Western peoples to understand the rôle played by the Soviets.

The working masses throughout the world instinctively appreciated the value of the Soviets as a weapon in their struggle with capitalism and also as a form of the proletarian state. The "leaders," however, demoralised as they are by their opportunist methods, still continue to worship "bourgeois democracy," and call this "absolute democracy."

Small wonder that the dictatorship of the proletariat, when put into practice, disclosed first of all a glaring "contradiction" between the backwardness of Russia and its "leap" over the head of bourgeois democracy. It would, indeed, have been wonderful had history

made us the free gift of a *new* form of democracy, *unattended by any* contradictions.

Any Marxist, nay, anyone conversant with modern science, if asked whether he believed in the probability of a uniform, harmonious and perfectly-proportioned transition of various capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat, would undoubtedly answer that question in the negative. In the capitalist world, there has never been any room for uniformity, harmony, and perfect proportions. Every country has brought into prominence now one, now another feature, or features, of capitalism and of the labour movement. The rate of development has been varied.

While France was going through its great middle-class revolution, and opening vistas of a new historical life to the whole continent of Europe, England found itself at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although it was far more advanced than France from the point of view of capitalism. The British labour movement of the period had, by a flash of intuition, arrived at some of the conclusions of latter-day Marxism.

At the time that it was giving to the world the first vast, politically-organised movement of revolutionary proletarians—Chartism—ineffective middle-class revolutions were taking place in various countries of Europe, and France was witnessing the first great civil war between the middle classes and the proletariat. The middle classes defeated the disjointed national battalions of proletarians one by one, using different methods in each country.

England offers a striking instance of a country, where, in the words of Engels, the middle-classes, acting in combination with an aristocracy gradually merging into the upper middle class, have created an upper stratum of the proletariat most akin to the middle classes. That advanced capitalistic country was, as far as the revolutionary struggle was concerned, several decades behind more backward countries. The proletariat of France seemed to have exhausted its strength in the two heroic risings of the working classes against the bourgeoisie in 1848 and 1871, the importance of which in the world's history cannot be overrated. In the seventies, i.e., at a time when Germany was economically behind France and England, the supremacy in the international labour movement passed into her hands. When, however, Germany had out-

distanced those two countries in the economic race, i.e., in the second decade of the twentieth century, the world-renowned party of German Marxists was headed by a gang of abominable rogues, by a band of scoundrels who had sold themselves to the capitalists, by Scheidemann and Noske, by David and Legien, the most villainous hangmen that were ever used against working men by monarchy and counter-revolutionary middle-classes.

The course of the world's history inevitably points to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its course is far from being straight, smooth, or simple.

At a time when Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist, and not the renegade he became when he joined Scheidemann in his struggle for unity with bourgeois democracy in its fight against the proletarian, or Soviet, democracy, he wrote (at the very beginning of the twentieth century) an article entitled "The Slavs and the Revolution." In that article he drew attention to such historic conditions as were pointing to the possibility of the supremacy in the international labour movement passing into the hands of the Slavonic nations.

Now this has come true. For a time—certainly for a very short time—the supremacy in the proletarian revolutionary International belongs to the Russians, as in various periods of the nineteenth century it belonged successively to the English, the French, and the Germans.

I must repeat here what I have said many times: it was easier for the Russians than for any of the advanced nations to *begin* the great proletarian revolution, but they will experience greater difficulties in *continuing* it, in bringing it to a complete victory, i.e., in organising Socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the extraordinary backwardness of the Tsarist regime resulted in an unprecedented violence of the revolutionary assault of the masses. Secondly, the backwardness of Russia had, in a manner peculiar to that country, merged the proletarian revolution directed against the bourgeoisie into the peasants' revolution directed against the landlords. We began at that point in October, 1917, and our victory would not have been such an easy one had we started from any other point. As early as 1856, Marx, in speaking of Prussia, pointed to the possibility of revolutionary proletarians joining hands with

revolutionary peasants. From the beginning of 1905, the Bolsheviks had upheld the idea of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasants. Thirdly, the revolution of 1905 proved an excellent political training ground for the working and peasant masses, both in bringing home to the most advanced amongst them the "latest in Western Socialism" and in educating them in revolutionary *action*. But for the "dress rehearsal" of 1905, the revolutions of 1917, both the middle class one, in February, and the proletarian one, in October, would have been out of the question. Fourthly, the geographic conditions of Russia enabled it to hold out, for a longer time than was possible in other countries, against the seeming superiority of advanced capitalist countries. Fifthly, the peculiar inter-relations of the proletariat and the peasants facilitated the transition from a middle-class revolution to a Socialist one, by affording facilities for the urban proletarians to influence the poorest stratum of the peasantry. Sixthly, the lessons taught by many years of struggle by means of strikes, and the experience of the labour movement in Europe, combined with an extremely difficult and acute revolutionary situation, contributed to the springing up of that peculiar and unprecedented form of revolutionary organisations—the Soviets (workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' councils).

This list is, of course, far from complete. But we may stop at that.

The Soviet, or proletarian democracy, has come to life in Russia. As compared with the Commune of Paris, this is the second step of paramount importance in the history of the world. The Soviet Republic of proletarians and peasants has proved to be the first stable and lasting Socialist Republic. As a *new type of State*, it can no longer die. It no longer stands alone.

A great deal, a very great deal, is still required to bring to completion the constructive work of Socialism. Such Soviet Republics as may be formed in countries more civilised than Russia, in countries where the proletariat carries more weight and has a greater influence, have all the chances of outdistancing Russia, provided they firmly adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Second International, that has proved a signal failure, is now dying a natural death, and the period of putrefaction has already set in. It

is now acting as a henchman to the international bourgeoisie. It may truly be termed the Yellow International. Its most prominent leaders, such as Kautsky, are now glorifying bourgeois democracy which they call "absolute democracy," or—which is still more absurd and more coarse—"pure democracy."

Bourgeois democracy is dead, as dead as the Second International, which did perform a very useful and historically inevitable task at a time when the preparation of the working masses for Socialism within the limits of that bourgeois democracy was the order of the day.

The most democratic bourgeois republic has never been, and cannot be, anything else but a machine for the oppression of labour by capital and a political weapon of capitalism, or anything but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic bourgeois republic promised to give power to the majority, but the principle so proclaimed could never be put into practice as long as the land and other instruments of production were objects of private ownership.

"Freedom," in the interpretation of the bourgeois democratic republic, was reserved *for the wealthy*. The proletarians and the peasants could and ought to have utilised it for collecting their forces with a view to the ultimate overthrowing of capitalism and the annihilation of bourgeois democracy; but they could not, as a rule, *actually enjoy* the benefits of democracy under capitalism.

For the very first time the Soviet, or proletarian democracy, has created a *democracy* for the masses, for the toilers, for the working men and the poorest peasants.

Never in the history of mankind has the *majority* of the population wielded political power as completely as it does under the Soviet Republic.

The Soviet Republic suppresses the "freedom" of employers of sweated labour, of profiteers and their abettors; it prevents them from exploiting the working classes and from making fortunes out of starving people; it suppresses their "freedom" to join forces with the bourgeoisie of other countries against the workmen and peasants at home.

Let people like Kautsky defend such a freedom. No one but a renegade from Marxism, a renegade from Socialism, would uphold that kind of liberty.

The most striking manifestation of the failure of the leaders of the Second International, such

as Hilferding and Kautsky, lies in their utter inability to grasp the importance of the Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, its relation to the Commune of Paris, its proper place in history, or its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

No. 4 of the German periodical, *Die Freiheit*, which voices the opinions of the so-called "Independent" (a misnomer for bourgeois, lower-middle-class) German Social-Democracy, published on February 11, 1919, contains an "Appeal to the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany."

The appeal is signed by the executive of the party and by the whole of its group in the "National Assembly," a counterpart of our own contemptible "Constituent."

That appeal accuses the Scheidemanns of a striving to do away with the Soviets, and purposes—this is not a jest—to combine the Soviets with the National Assembly, by conferring upon the former certain political rights, and giving them a definite place in the Constitution.

To reconcile the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat! How

simple! What a brilliantly philistine idea!

What a pity it has already been tried in Russia under Kerensky, by the united Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, those middle-class democrats who deem themselves the exponents of true Socialism.

Anyone who, in reading Marx, has failed to grasp the fact that, in capitalist society, any moment of acute struggle, any serious collision between the classes, must result in either the dictatorship of the proletariat or in the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, has utterly misunderstood both the economic and the political doctrines of Marx.

The sublimely shallow suggestion of Messrs. Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. as to the peaceful co-existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, calls for special analysis if all the economic and political fallacies heaped up in that most remarkable and most preposterous appeal of February 11 are to be fully discussed. This will be dealt with in another article.

N. LENIN.

Moscow, April 15, 1919.

Vistas of the Proletarian Revolution.

THE Third International was born on March 4, 1919, in Moscow. Or, to be more accurate, the infant saw the light of day in the year 1918. In the spring of 1919 it was baptised and entered in the register of births; by that time, the babe had grown quite strong and was trying to find his feet. When, in May, 1918, the Bolshevik Party in Russia, then already in power, changed its name to the Russian Communist Party, and when, a few months later, the German Spartacists, who already boasted of a glorious past, also assumed the name of "German Communist Party," it became clear to every revolutionist that the Third International had been born. All we had to do in 1919 was to register the fact of its birth.

How ill-founded were the objections—but few in number, it must be admitted—against the

"premature" official recognition of the Third International! At the congress held in Moscow early in March, 1919, Hungary was represented by a man who had long resided in Russia as a political refugee. The Hungarian Communist Party therefore appeared to us at the congress as a fairly small group. A fortnight after the congress, however, that party was already in power, and rallying round its banner the whole of the Hungarian working class.

At the time of writing, the Third International has as its main basis three Soviet Republics—in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria. No one will be surprised, however, if, by the time these lines appear in print, we shall have not merely three, but six, and more, Soviet Republics. Europe is hurrying towards the proletarian revolution at a break-neck pace.

How childish and shortsighted were our own heated discussions held but three or four months ago! When, in the autumn of 1915, at Zimmerwald, the first international nucleus of uncompromising Communists (the Zimmerwald Left) advocated the necessity of an organic split, a complete secession from the social-patriots, this seemed an unprecedented audacity, an unheard-of heresy. When, at about that time, the Zimmerwald Left threw out the suggestion that the whole of the modern Labour movement would soon split into three distinct currents (the social-chauvinists, the group of the "centre," and the Communists), they were dubbed doctrinaires, sectarians, and utopians. At present, the split is an accomplished fact. To-day every rank-and-file working man fully realises (the survival Kautsky is the only one who cannot grasp this fact) that it is impossible for the Liebknecht party to join hands with Liebknecht's murderers, Scheidemann and Ebert. The shibboleth of "unity" has been shattered. Every honest Socialist understands by now that the only "unity" dear to us should be directed *against* the social-traitors, who have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie. The differences which formerly were settled in the privacy of the "one" party have now been taken into the market place, and they are settled on the barricades, with the active assistance of machine-guns and cannons. To-day, we see the three currents indicated above in full action on the vast world-screen. The policy of each of those currents is now before the eyes of millions of workers. And the number of working men who still believe in the first and the second currents is dwindling from day to day. And the innumerable masses of workers clinging to the third current (the Communists)—the only one that remains faithful to the working classes—*are* increasing in volume by leaps and bounds.

It is needless to enter, in these pages, into a discussion of principles with the first current, i.e., with the sympathisers of Scheidemann all over the world. In this instance, we are faced by a fully responsible enemy of our class, one who advocates purely bourgeois ideas under the guise of "Social Democracy." In this case, the weapon of criticism should, all along the line, be replaced by criticism with weapons. Our motto with regard to the "Whites" of Social-Democracy should, in the words of Lassalle, read as follows: "Hand on throat and knee on breast!"

Here is, however, the second current ("the centre"), with Kautsky as its past and present leader!

With them, a discussion of principles is still possible. The late Rosa Luxemburg said in 1910 that, if it was worth while at all to enter into any controversy with revisionism, its only aspect admitting of argumentation was the "Kautskian hypostasis."

A striking feature in the position of our most powerful opponent—the so-called "centre"—is an incredible paucity of ideas.

A total absence of perspective, an unprecedented looseness of thought and debility of intellect, a fathomless philistinism, an unbounded cowardice of conception—those are the chief characteristics of the position taken up by the "centre."

The adherents of the "centre" still uphold the idea of "absolute democracy" and cling to the old subdivision of our programme into a minimum programme and a maximum programme. To a superficial onlooker it may appear that the votaries of the "centre" are, in reality, faithful to the old Socialist programme, if only from a purely formal point of view. As a matter of fact, however, their position implies a total secession from Socialism.

Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the prognosis of Kautsky and his disciples is correct. *Let us further admit*—although this is absolutely wrong—that for some time to come the emancipatory movement in Europe will remain within the bounds of "democracy," that is to say, of bourgeois democracy. This would mean that the first half of the programme advocated by European Social-Democracy, the minimum programme, has been brought to completion.

What are the obligations imposed by that position upon those who have remained true to Socialism? Those obligations are immediately to bring to the fore the maximum programme, i.e., the programme of the fullest realisation of Socialism. Since the bourgeoisie has been so weakened as to be compelled to accept compromises and to consent to the introduction of "democracy," the plain duty of each Socialist at this moment is to press onwards and to insist on the adoption of such principles as *distinguish* him from the "bourgeois" democrats.

The adherents of the "centre" take a wholly opposite course. At this historical moment they

bottle up their maximum programme and, instead of fighting the bourgeoisie, turn against those very advocates of the working classes with whom the struggle for the immediate introduction of Socialism is the order of the day.

Just look more closely into the "theories" expounded by Kautsky and his friends at the notorious Berne Conference of the Second International early in 1919. A more startling poltroonery of conception is difficult to imagine.

Kautsky and his friends thundered against the Communists, insisting that a verdict should be brought in against the Bolsheviks. Now, *let us assume* that the working men have no enemy more dangerous than the Communists. Let us admit that the greatest obstacle the proletarians must overcome before they achieve Socialism is the Bolsheviks. *Let us admit all this.* But what is the Kautskians' own programme? How do they picture the realisation of Socialism?

Kautsky deprecates the "Socialism of poverty." He does not want the working classes to come to power at a time when the productive forces in practically all the countries have been impaired, when war has brought Europe to an unprecedented famine.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the working classes have the greatest difficulty in introducing Socialism under the circumstances prevailing in Europe, thanks to the bourgeoisie and its flunkies, the social-patriots. Very well; but can Kautsky suggest any alternative?

To wait?

But how long? Until the chief countries of Europe will have recuperated from the results of the war, and the bourgeoisie will have restored its supremacy, until industry is again in a flourishing state? But what are the guarantees that the bourgeoisie will then refrain from plunging us again into a still more sanguinary slaughter? And what are the guarantees that, if private ownership is maintained, the bourgeoisie will be in a position to restore the productive forces of all countries which it has so ruthlessly, so barbarously destroyed?

Or, take the question of Soviets. One may hate the Soviets, as they are hated by the bourgeoisie and its flunkies, who rightly see in them a menace to the supremacy of capital. One may warmly sympathise with the Soviets, as they are sympathised with by all that is honest and noble amongst the working classes of all countries. But no self-respecting politician can possibly

remain neutral in regard to the Soviets, or pretend to consider them neither good nor bad. Any shilly-shallying evasion or dodging in this matter is absolutely disgraceful. Anyone can see for himself that the "Soviet" is a new word that has been uttered by millions of working men after the war. One can only be either for or against the Soviet. The Kautskian "centre," however, both at the Berne Conference and generally throughout their work of propaganda, pretends to be unaware of the Soviet dilemma. "Bold spirits," like Hilferding and his friends, are at best trying to tie the nuptial knot between the idea of a bourgeois reactionary Constituent Assembly and that of proletarian revolutionary Soviets. The Berne Conference of the Second International, over which the spirit of Kautsky was hovering, in a cowardly fashion evaded the Soviet question. In doing so it has issued to itself a testimonial proving its unheard-of paucity of ideas.

We have assumed, earlier in this article, that the revolutionary movement in Europe might be limited to the victory of "democracy" only. We said that, even in such an event, it would be criminal to forego the question of the realisation of the maximum programme, i.e., of an immediate struggle for the triumph of Socialism. This admission, however, is in flagrant contradiction to the actual facts. At the present time it is manifest that in Europe the movement is, on the contrary, progressing at a higher rate than was ever expected by even the greatest optimists at the Moscow Congress of the Third International. The conflagration of civil war has spread all over Europe. When the Hungarian bourgeoisie tendered its resignation, this was not by any means a purely local phenomenon. This was the most unmistakable sign of the times. Historically, the whole of the European bourgeoisie is now tendering its resignation.

The victory of Communism throughout Germany is now inevitable. There will surely be a few isolated defeats for some time to come. Black may temporarily supplant Red here and there. The final victory, however, will be achieved by Red. And it may be achieved within a few months, nay, within a few weeks. The movement is spreading with giant strides, and it may safely be predicted that in a year's time we shall begin to forget that Europe had ever fought for Communism, because by that time all Europe will be Communist. And the

struggle for Communism will by then have spread into America, and may be, into Asia, and to other parts of the world.

Geographically, the proletarian revolution is spreading from East to West. By now, the route of the proletarian revolution has been quite definitely mapped out. Recent events in Turkey fully confirm this. The first victory of Communism was achieved in Russia. This was mainly due to the fact that the Russian bourgeoisie were not so strong and well organised as their brothers in other countries. One of the champions of the Russian counter-revolution, Peter Struve, who at one time was a Socialist, said in one of his writings: "The farther east, the more vile is the bourgeoisie." We might add: "the more vile and the more weak." That is why the Russian working classes were first in accomplishing a task which is now facing the working men of all countries.

The German and Austrian bourgeoisie, as well as that of all defeated countries, is breathing its last, and writhing in mortal convulsions. The bourgeoisie of the triumphant countries, of the Entente countries, fares no better. It plainly feels on its throat the deadly touch of bony fingers. One of the most influential middle-class papers of Paris wrote the other day: "What strange people those ministers of ours who have established the Council of Four: they divide the world, they are fearfully concerned about an equitable partition of the Balkan Peninsula, of Russia, and of other 'spheres of influence': but they do not perceive that they are encompassed by the fiery circle of Bolshevism, and that they are losing their own countries."

There is no getting away from this!

Some of the imperialists of the Entente are keenly alive to the danger of their position. Others deem themselves on a safer foundation. Hence, their differences.

Why are the French and the Italian middle-classes the most bellicose of all? Because the social revolution is most ripe in those two countries. Because the French and the Italian capitalists have practically nothing to lose. The only course open to them is to ride full tilt at the enemy, and to declare war on Russia and Hungary. They are trying to drive Germany into a war with Russia; they endeavour, in a word, to apply "surgical" remedies.

Why are the imperialists of England and America inclined (or why were they so inclined

some time ago) to settle in a more amicable manner the so-called "Russian" question (which, in reality is a universal question) as to whether capitalism is "to be or not to be"? Because the position of the bourgeois classes in England and America is a comparatively stable one. Because the wave of the proletarian movement has not yet sapped the strongholds of capitalism in those countries to the same extent as in France and Italy.

That is why some of the Entente imperialists still hope against hope to evade their fate, to ward it off. Hence, two distinct lines of conduct in the camp of the imperialist "victors." They are all of them dying to cut the throat of the Socialist revolution in Russia and in Europe generally, but some of them are afraid lest they should feel the thorn in their side.

The bourgeoisie is now passing through a period of decadence and dissolution, and it is but right that it should give birth to its own lachrymose and whimpering Hamlets. The reactionary bourgeoisie of Europe has had its own fighters—Gallifet, Clemenceau. Now it will produce men of a different stamp: leaders distrustful of themselves, leaders who, from an historical point of view, have tendered their resignation. *Facies Hypocratica*—this is the diagnosis that suggests itself upon scanning the moribund face of the European bourgeoisie, even of its soundest portion.

What will be the outcome of the present crisis in the near future, no one can tell. This is unknown even to the four mighty potentates of the "Council of Four," who preside over the destinies of mankind. Who will triumph, Clemenceau or Wilson? Will the Entente imperialists make open war on Russia?

The *Temps* newspaper, which represents the French Government, wrote a few days ago (No. 21047), in an editorial article, entitled "The Defence of Peace."

"La Société des Nations et le 'gouvernement' Bolchéviste sont deux institutions qui ne peuvent pas vivre ensemble. On veut une paix qui dure? Qu'on occupe Pétrrogard." Which means: "The League of Nations and the Bolshevik Government are two institutions that cannot possibly coexist in this world. Do you want a lasting peace? Then take Petrograd."

That is fairly frank.

Will our enemies endeavour to carry out that programme, even after Odessa, after the events

in Hungary and Turkey? At present, no one can tell. From the point of view of the subsequent fate of the proletarian revolution as a whole, this is not essential.

It may happen that in America capitalism will for a number of years exist side by side with Communist Europe. It may even happen that in England Capitalism will survive for a couple of years although Communism is triumphant in the rest of Europe. But such a state of things cannot last. To borrow the expression of the mouthpiece of the French bourgeoisie, capitalist America and Communist Europe cannot coexist. Or, at least, they cannot coexist for a long time. The state of things outlined above may last for some time as a transition period.

Anyhow, the die is cast. The assault against the strongholds of capitalism has begun. And it will result in our fullest victory. The crash of the crumbling structure of the capitalist world is already audible. Proletarian revolution will stalk triumphantly from country to country. Shod with seven-league boots, it will stride over

the boundaries of not only one, but of two, three, and more countries at a time. Scores of millions of toilers are taking their revenge for the outrages inflicted upon them during the four years of that mad imperialistic war.

The working classes can now no longer win power "prematurely." This is what Kautsky said ten years ago, when he still was a Socialist. This is what we say at present. The working classes cannot proclaim their dictatorship too soon. The position is ripe for the triumph of Socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the order of the day throughout the civilised world. All our present failures will seem to us but paltry affairs a few months hence, as compared with the great victories we shall have achieved by that time. There is no structure as solid as the structure of the Third International, the foundations of which were laid in Moscow, in March, 1919. Under the banner of the Third International the working classes will triumph throughout the world.

G. ZINOVIEV.

The Proletarian Revolution in Hungary.

Not more than five months have elapsed since the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and already, under the pressure of the economic condition of the country, and in view of the utter inability of the governing classes to conduct the business of the State any longer, the Hungarian proletariat has had to overthrow the bourgeois State apparatus and to establish the second Soviet Republic in Europe, in the place of a bourgeois democracy. It was to be expected that the irresistible development of the revolution in Hungary would lead to the adoption of a proletarian form of government. Nevertheless, it was a surprise to all that the bourgeoisie should itself have realised its incapacity any further to manage the apparatus of society and the State, and that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary was thus achieved practically with the approval of the bourgeoisie and without any bloodshed. The question now arising is this:

What were the causes of that quasi-peaceful revolution? A second question is: May a counter-revolution be subsequently expected in Hungary?

When, in October, 1918, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy reached the climax of its century-old agony, and finally went down in the most ignominious manner, the most violent struggle broke out in Hungary between the propertied classes and the urban and rural proletarians. The factories which had, during the war, been turned into prisons, at once became the outposts of the workmen's rebellion against their oppressors. The rural proletariat, returning from the war, rose up in arms against the landlords, while armed workmen threatened to put a speedy end to any supremacy of class over class. Workers and soldiers were establishing their own councils (Soviets) all over the country, and tearing off officers' badges of rank. The

revolution at once assumed proletarian forms—and this was but natural, since the proletariat was accomplishing it.

As a matter of fact, the power was already in the hands of the proletariat and the poor peasants. The landlord oligarchy had for a long time been governing by sheer violence, and it had long been hampering the economic development of the country. Being short of funds, it was not in a position to conduct agriculture on efficient lines. Its products were gradually superseded in the world's market by foreign-grown wheat. By dint of artificial import duties on wheat and cattle, and an arbitrary construction of veterinary regulations, it succeeded in ensuring for itself a ground rent, while it constantly increased the cost of living of the working population. The financial aristocracy created by the oligarchy of the landlords, in the meantime, shamelessly exploited the industrial proletariat. It is a well-known fact that this joint management led up to Austria's imperialist war against Serbia, and to the annexation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Albania.

With the breakdown of imperialism, the sham supremacy of the landlords utterly collapsed, and all their representatives, parties and politicians vanished from the political arena of Hungary. The governing classes are being irresistibly driven into the abyss by immutable economic laws, and, while pursuing their own interests, they merely hasten their own ruin.

The collapse of the oligarchy of the landlords brought about the break-up of specific Hungarian imperialism. The peoples oppressed and enslaved by the Hungarian oligarchy, and now set free by the revolution, at once joined hands with their countrymen on the other side of what used to be the frontier of old Hungary. The economic structure, kept together by the power of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, instantly fell to pieces. Purely agrarian Hungary, now cut off from the supply of raw materials, such as coal, etc., found itself utterly devitalised. The Hungarian bourgeoisie stood unarmed before the invigorated bourgeoisie of the victorious countries that was facing it, in all the splendour of its unimpaired vitality.

None but a class having no clear idea of its own social and economic conditions, but trying for all it is worth to hide the basis on which it rests, and therefore ready to stake its own existence for the sake of momentary advantages

—(such is the history of imperialism all over the world)—in short, none but the bourgeoisie could ever hope that the oligarchy of the landlords might be succeeded by another form of middle-class supremacy, i.e., by the supremacy of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie itself has now prevented any such possibility. Ever since imperialism had produced in Hungary, as it had in all other countries, striking class distinctions, the whole of the bourgeoisie had been clinging to the ruling oligarchy. If the landlords had been hampering the organisation of the industrial proletariat to a lesser degree than that of the rural proletariat—which not rarely incited the industrial bourgeoisie to covet an undivided autocracy—the general trend of imperialism gradually obliterated that tolerance in regard to Trade Unions, and the whole of the bourgeoisie finally concentrated in one camp violently hostile to the proletariat. During the war, the bourgeoisie was solely intent on war profits, its only object being to pocket as many milliards as it possibly could. The breakdown of all that magnificence found it utterly unprepared and unorganised. Omnipotent but yesterday, when it kept down the workers by its millions of soldiers, it proved absolutely helpless to-day. Politically debile, utterly disorganised from the economic point of view, and exposed to the blows of its imperialist neighbours, the Hungarian bourgeoisie was quite incapable of bracing itself for the struggle.

Thus, after the collapse of monarchy, the industrial proletariat was the only class properly organised, hardened in its protracted social struggle, and trained in the strictest party discipline, that was capable of taking the power into its hands. The proletarians and the poorer peasants, together with the paupers of the rural districts, might, if they were headed by the industrial proletariat, immediately overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish a Soviet Republic on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The stern party discipline, however, proved, to a certain extent, an obstacle to the adoption of that course, the only correct one. The social-patriotic leaders betrayed the working classes of Hungary. A portion of the proletariat that fully realised the position, and was influenced by the propaganda of the then still small Communist group, proceeded at once to expropriate factories, to drive away the shareholders and their directors, and to substitute for them trusted

representatives of the working classes; this revolutionary action was branded by Social-Democracy as being arbitrary and unorganised, and as tending to the creation of a new class of capitalists in place of the old one. The collapse of the monarchy was applauded as a "victory" of the working classes, and the workers were enjoined to maintain "order." The working men let themselves be disarmed; they allowed a "white" army to be formed of former officers, policemen, gendarmes, of small tradesmen ruined by the war, and of desperadoes; the white army proceeded to disarm the soldiers returning from the front. The working men listlessly looked on, while rebellious peasants were shot down by the hundred, and their heels branded with red-hot iron. "Order" was being restored by time-honoured methods.

The Social-Democrats were thus hastening to the assistance of the bourgeoisie, and more and more becoming the police of the "order-loving" parties. The bourgeoisie soon realised the importance of that assistance, and began to sing the praises of the Social-Democratic leaders; it applauded those shrewd, practical politicians who, "although opposed in principle" to capitalist society, were, however, "reasonable" enough not to engage in a wild-goose chase after Utopias. Stronger than ever, the bourgeoisie hoped to achieve its long-cherished dream of autocracy.

Everything and every one seemed to have suddenly turned "Socialist." From the officers of the "white" army, down to the policemen and street hawkers, every one called himself a "comrade." The Social-Democratic Party was submerged by a wave of lower middle-class elements who rendered it more and more counter-revolutionary, less and less responsive to the needs of the proletariat. In all questions that cropped up the Social-Democratic Party upheld the middle-class point of view, duly covered up by proletarian phraseology.

Thus, it was with the assistance of the "proletarian" Social-Democratic Party that the radical middle-class democracy was formed, the tangled character of which was visible in its very name, "The People's Republic." As if under imperialism, in a period of the acutest class dissensions, there was any room for the existence of a "people" as a distinct unit! This proved possible solely because the collapse of imperialism in Austria-Hungary resulted in a state

of equilibrium between the classes and a comparative independence of State authority. Since the bourgeoisie had been doomed to failure, and in view of the inactivity of the proletariat, the strength of which was paralysed by its own leaders, power fell into the hands of the lower middle-classes. As usually happens when the lower middle-class is in power, the parties had no programme of their own, vacillating as they did between the bourgeoisie, with its attempts to get hold of power, and the proletariat, which, although still dazzled by Social-Democracy, was, however, sufficiently shrewd to resist the cravings of the bourgeoisie. It is true, the proletariat let itself be convinced that the hour of the establishment of a proletarian State had not yet arrived. It did not intend, however, nor was it in a position, to forego its economic demands as it had its political programme. The sentimental phraseology whereby the bourgeoisie flattered the proletariat afforded but a scant cover for the hatred and fury with which it tried to persuade the working classes—in response to their new demands—that the disorganised capitalist State was not in a position to grant such demands. It was with growing indignation that the bourgeoisie must have observed that the industrial proletariat was being reinforced by rural toilers, who by now were insisting on the expropriation of large estates. In vain did it advocate the creation of a disciplined army and a vigorous putting down, by the State machinery, of the "disorderly masses," who, not content with the sentimental promises of middle-class democracy, were stoutly upholding the demands of the proletariat in workers' councils, at meetings, factories, mines, in villages.

The bourgeoisie at last took up an attitude of passive resistance. Factories were gradually shut down. An excellent excuse was provided by the occupation of the coal-mining district by the newly-formed national States. The bourgeoisie had placed power in the hands of lower-middle-class parties which, centring round Social Democracy, were now pursuing a policy of their own—a policy of phrases and unable to prevent the bourgeoisie from accumulating fresh forces in the counter-revolutionary camp and powerless to keep the proletariat from daily addressing new demands to their "leaders," who were preaching moderation to the Social-Democratic ministers.

This was a period of the mustering of forces.

The bourgeoisie was gathering strength for a counter-revolutionary effort, while the proletariat, represented by the now matured Communist Party, was beginning to realise its own power. In the meantime, however, the supremacy was wielded by lower-middle-class politicians, by Social Democrats. There was even a travesty of Bonapartism—in the person of Count Karolyi—and, if he never became a Hungarian Napoleon, it was merely due to the fact that proud Hungary had, in losing its national honour, lost its army, and the soldiers were too hostile to their officers to support Bonapartism. Nevertheless, the appointment of Karolyi to the presidency of the Republic was an attempt to appoint a judge over the classes.

The bourgeois politicians necessarily left all problems unsolved, since they were insoluble within the bounds of bourgeois policy. The hubbub raised round every measure taken as a compromise did not succeed in convincing either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie that it was not a compromise. Too much noise is ever a proof of weakness. It was manifest that the power of the lower-middle-class-Social-Democratic firm was soon to be replaced by a bourgeois counter-revolution, or succeeded by a further development of the proletarian revolution.

The first amongst the lower-middle-class parties to understand this was the Social Democratic. It imprisoned the leaders of the Communist Party, who had been vigorously fighting for a purely proletarian revolution. It ruthlessly swept away all those who stood up for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the introduction of the Soviet system. It shot the workmen of Salgotartan by the score, and, in the meantime—prepared the national assembly elections. Its conservative leaders were thereby merely bringing on, all the more speedily, a split between their right and their left wings. The latter was irresistibly driven towards the adoption of the Soviet system and the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The counter-revolution lasted too short a time. Owing to an equilibrium between the two decisive classes—the upper bourgeoisie and the proletariat—the power had temporarily been usurped by the lower-middle-class parties. Their power, however, was a purely fictitious one—a debile, bankrupt, and tottering power. The finances were in the most deplorable, the most lamentable condition; the army was scattered

and hopelessly disorganised; the bureaucracy was in a state of passive resistance; the constabulary and the police were “Social-Democratically” insubordinate. The country was surrounded by a number of imperialist national States, supported by the Entente, and resolved to bring the country to economic debility, and to force upon it the stoppage of production. A power of that description could not offer a strong foothold to counter-revolution. Any attempt to ensure to the bourgeoisie the supremacy over the remaining portions of Hungary was doomed to be shattered against the predatory covetousness of the Entente, and of the neighbouring States that enjoyed its protection. The economic debility of the bourgeoisie led to its complete political failure. After a short-lived lower-middle-class rule, and after many attempts to appease the industrial and the rural proletariat by dint of sentimental phraseology, that party at last realised its utter incapacity and bowed itself out, while it handed power over to the proletariat. To the proletariat, and not to the upper bourgeoisie—as the latter was too patently beaten, annihilated, condemned to economic and political death. The proletariat thus took power into its own hands and proclaimed its own dictatorship; it transformed a purely bourgeois democracy into a proletarian one, that is to say, into a Soviet Republic.

The wireless whereby Bela Kun, the Commissary for Foreign Affairs, proclaimed that fact to the proletariat of the world, states that the events were accelerated by the imperialistic policy of the Entente, who intended to put Hungary at the mercy of the Rumanian oligarchy. There is no doubt but that the policy of the Entente had a share in opening the eyes of the Hungarian proletariat: in tearing off the mask worn by Wilson, it facilitated to the proletariat the choice between Wilson and Lenin. Nevertheless, this would not have brought about the rule of the proletariat, if the power had not *de facto* already been in its own hands. The utter failure of capitalism left but one course open: the proletariat was compelled to take into its own hands the authority that had slipped out of the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The question, however, had already been settled at the very outset of the middle-class revolution, in October, 1918. That revolution had been the doing of the proletariat, which had begun it by its strike of January, 1918, and was

now bringing it to completion. At the moment of victory, however, the proletariat had been betrayed by Social-Democracy, and misled as to its own strength. It soon discovered, first, that capitalism was no longer fit to stand at the head of the economic organisation, to solve the national, the agrarian, and other questions; and, secondly, that bourgeois democracy could never lead to a victory of the working classes. The German-Austrian elections were a revelation to the working men. And it would perhaps be more correct to say that the conduct of the Entente had, if anything, delayed the triumph of Communist ideas amidst the Hungarian proletariat. The proletariat was afraid to seize power, because the Social-Democrats threatened it with a homicidal raid of the Entente hordes. Notwithstanding these threats, however, the Hungarian proletariat had to accomplish its own revolution, since it was the only way to avoid a bourgeois counter-revolution, and to ward off famine and other sufferings inseparable from a disorganised, a weak, but an all the more cruel capitalistic oppression. A proletarian revolution had everywhere become historically and economically imminent.

The second question, as to whether a counter-revolution is to be feared, has already been answered. The counter-revolution had once tried on its little game, but was ignominiously driven away by the forces of the proletariat, in view of its utter inability to manage the economic

and social apparatus. The fact of its weakness became so manifest that even the Social-Democrats could no longer ignore it; and, with the exception of a few leaders who had long ago abandoned the principles of Socialism, the whole of the party recognised the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new Socialist Party is now backed by the whole body of the proletariat; owing to the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the strength of the proletariat, the revolution was a bloodless one, and the Entente alone may endeavour to help the pitiable counter-revolutionary groups. But the new imperialistic States by which we are surrounded will have their hands full with counteracting the formidable strength of the revolutionary and Communist ideas within their own boundaries. The Hungarian proletariat is fully aware of the fact that the economic downfall of capitalism will inflict untold suffering upon the people; it fully realises that its dictatorship cannot secure an adequate supply of coal and of raw materials; all production has stopped, and the average peasant distrustful and inpecunious, will at best remain indifferent. But the proletariat has confidence in the ultimate triumph of the revolution throughout the world, and, in the teeth of all difficulties, it will nevertheless manage to organise the new Soviet Republic and defend it against all its foes!

L. RUDAS.

(Delegate of the Communist Party of Hungary to the Congress of the Third International).

Greeting to our Italian Comrades.

I have been officially delegated by the Italian Socialist Party to express to Bolshevism its enthusiastic, grateful and unqualified sympathy, which is fully shared by all thinking members of the Italian proletariat. . . . I hope soon to be in Russia.

From Morgari's letter of March 3rd, 1919.

On March 18th the Italian Socialist Party decided to leave the Brussels Bureau of the Second International and to join the Revolutionary Socialist International.

Ibid.

DEAR FRIENDS,

THE accursed imperialistic blockade and the censorship, which have raised a barrier between

free Soviet Russia and the countries that have not yet shaken off the yoke of their own and Allied imperialism, have so far prevented you from learning what feelings of joy, gratification, pride, and approval were evoked in the widest circles of Communist and proletarian Russia by your decision to join the Communist International. This step of yours—the adoption of the Communist programme and the direct application of revolutionary methods of social struggle—as also your final secession from the Second

International, have completed a long and complex period in the development of the left wing of Italian Socialism.

A group important both in number and in quality has been created by a mere band of friends, who have, from the very formation of the party, unflinchingly upheld the purity of Socialist principles and advocated the application of the same in practice; a group that either expanded under the influence of extraneous events and of its own propaganda, or shrank owing to the instability of certain elements, who had joined the movement only temporarily and in a purely superficial manner. In 1912, after the defeat inflicted by that group upon the reformist party, it found itself at the head of the movement. Its influence was so powerful as to be chiefly instrumental in ensuring to Socialism a leading position in the politics of the country, and this in the stormy and, to the revolutionary parties, highly critical period that preceded the war. It further did a great deal to enhance the prestige of the proletarian International, at a time when the Second International was shamefully and irresistibly sinking. In view of the then embryonic state of the revolutionary movement, and the consequent vagueness of political theories and conceptions amongst the masses and the parties, that group—which had assumed the name of “uncompromising”—in contradistinction to all kinds of democratic-revisionist and other sham revolutionary movements—had the greatest difficulty in impressing upon the masses that it was standing quite apart from the reformism of Turati and Bissolati, from the vulgar directness of Ferri’s “revolutionism,” and from the cynical demagogic of Labriola’s syndicalism. The difficulty was enhanced by the fact that the Party had not, at that time, any newspaper of its own, and was not backed by any large Trade Unions or Party organisations; in Parliament it was represented by only three deputies, and its influence in the public Press was limited to a number of weeklies in the provinces. At the same time, the chief organ of the Party, and its only scientific journal, were in the hands of the most arrant reformists. The battle had to be fought on many points of the front, with no hope of any notable numerical success. Therefore, when our Party rose in opposition to the “social-colonial” standpoint advocated by the reformists of the Right in the war of Tripoli, and demanded, both through the medium of its

modest Press and at Congress, that the reformists should be expelled from the Party, in the name of international ideals and for the sake of the interests of the working masses—the expulsion of the three most prominent members of the Party came as a surprise to us. When the supremacy in the Party incontinently passed into our hands, the whole of the Central Committee being elected from our midst, and the revolutionary majority of the assembly greeted, with a thunder of applause, the election to the secretaryship of the Congress of Constantino Lazzari, who had grown old in the struggle with Socialist “compromising,” and whose name stands in Italy for ruthless class war—our feelings of joy and gratification were not unmixed with a certain anxiety: “Shall we have enough people, shall we succeed in our task?”

These questions have already been answered by the history of Italian Socialism in recent years. The experience of all countries goes to show that, when the tornado of imperialism annihilates the outposts of Socialism and of the proletariat, breaks through their ranks, hurling at them with fiendish skill the complicated machinery of misrepresentations, lies, slander, and raising an impassable barrier between the political thought of the proletariat and its interests; when it fosters hostility between the working classes of various countries: at such a time, the policy of the executive, entrusted by the revolutionary vanguard of the country with its banner, is of paramount importance both for the present and the future of the movement. The Italian Party is one of the few of which the chronicler of our portentous times will have to admit that, far from restraining the indignation and aggressiveness begotten amongst the working masses by the course of events, it bravely faced isolation both at home and in the International, and defiantly opposed all currents, with the exception of one—the uncompromising, revolutionary class struggle.

All this, dear comrades, has now been recalled, not only by yourselves, but by the whole of the proletariat in your country, by all those who go to make up public opinion—and this in spite of the fact that the uncompromising attitude of the Central Committee had resulted in its physical decapitation. The party had first to make up a quorum, and then to re-elect the Central Committee, so as to fill the places of those imprisoned, sent to the front, undergoing punishment, or

banished from the country. The bourgeois Press was terrified, but the Party newspapers were inordinately proud to observe that the substitution of new personalities for old ones, of less known names for better known names, did not produce the slightest deviation in the general trend of the Party. This proved that the principles, only six years ago upheld by a minority of "dogmatists," had now become the flesh and blood of all thinking Italians, and this in the teeth of the dictatorship of imperialism and death, in spite of the campaign of the bourgeois and Socialist Press against internationalism, and notwithstanding the desertion of a number of despicable wretches who had deserted to the enemies of Socialism, lured by lucre and flattery lavished upon them by the deadliest foes of the working classes and the most vile and contemptible traitors to the cause.

The Italian Socialists, and the overwhelming majority of the working masses in Italy, had at all times watched the struggle and the martyrdom of the Russian revolutionaries and the Russian people with an unfeigned, a glowing, a passionate solidarity, unheard of in any other country. Not hundreds, but thousands of meetings were held by Socialist organisations throughout the country, down to the remotest villages, as a protest against the atrocities of Russian autocracy, and to express their sympathy with the Russian people; no Italian citizen who ever attended those meetings, even as a chance visitor, will forget what he saw there. It should further be kept in mind that, when it became the moral duty of the proletariat to render pecuniary assistance to the revolutionary movement in Russia, in spite of the economic backwardness of Italy and the incredibly low wages, the voluntary contributions of the working men exceeded, not only relatively, but even absolutely, the amounts collected in some other countries. Can anyone who witnessed it ever forget that, when the Italian Government, scared by the wave of revolutionary demonstrations of sympathy with Russia, bethought itself of "somewhat restricting the freedom of speech," many thousands of people crowding the streets and meeting-halls won for the orators the liberty to infringe all restrictions, enabling them to denounce the Government of the Tsar and its henchmen more freely than in any other country, and to insist on the community of interests of all Governments and governing classes as opposed to those of the

proletarians throughout the world? That enthusiasm of the masses, that revolutionary fervour, that profound, active and efficient solidarity of the proletarians, could not but leave a lasting imprint on the working masses of Italy, at the same time cementing a close union between the peoples of Russia and Italy. All the world—and more particularly the vanguard of the Russian people—remembers that when the governing circles of Italy had the audacity of hinting the possibility of a visit to that country from Nicholas Romanoff, the Italian Socialists declared in Parliament that this was out of the question, that the Italian people and Socialists would not tolerate the presence of the strangler of the Russian people. The Socialist Press started a campaign in opposition to the suggestion, and Morgari distributed hundreds of thousands of whistles whereby the proletarians were to "greet" the august visitor. At that time, not only the reformists, but also the so-called democrats, were particularly hostile to the Russian autocrat; when, however, consequent upon a change in the imperialistic orientation, the Italian governing classes found themselves under the necessity of cementing their "friendship" with Russia by extending an invitation to Nicholas, the attitude of both the democrats and the reformists underwent a sudden and violent change. . . . Then Morgari—the incarnation of civic courage and devotion to duty—went, whistle in hand, all alone to greet the arrival of Nicholas. . . . You may be proud of the result: Nicholas the Second never came to Italy; at least, he never as much as showed his face in a large city, and the twenty-four hours of his stay in Italy were spent in the seclusion of a country house. . . . With the beginning of the imperialistic slaughter the "orientation" assumed a practical character, and neither the democrats nor the reformists proved fastidious enough to reject an alliance with the autocracy they had once abhorred. This supplied, however, but a fresh stimulus to the Italian Socialists and those of the working men who realised the interests of their class, to persist in their anti-war propaganda, opposing their own alliance with the Russian people, oppressed, deceived and exploited, and with its revolutionary, internationalist vanguard, to the alliance of the imperialistic "democrats" with Russia's bloodstained autocracy.

To those Socialists who remained faithful to the cause of the proletariat, the imperialistic

slaughter marked the beginning of a period of trials and severe struggle that resulted in a still closer union between the Russian and the Italian Socialists. In no country did the revolution of February provoke such a thrill of expectation as amongst the Italian Socialists, who were quick to realise that the achievements of that revolution might be retained for ever by both the Russian and the international proletariat, provided they took root and were extended to all countries, putting an end to the war, and assuming a social character. The Italian Socialist Press boldly advocated that which filled with terror the middle classes of Italy and the Allied countries, and this in spite of the clutches of censorship and the frequent courts-martial. The names of Serrati and of other permanent contributors to the *Avanti* will be recorded in the annals of history for the daring and farsightedness displayed by them in adhering to the standpoint of the present Russian Communists. The historic process of Turin, which snatched away from the ranks of the proletariat hundreds of the best workers, and their most prominent leaders and members of the Central Committee, such as Serrati and Barberis, was a striking proof of the fact that the support the Italian Socialists were willing to give to the Russian revolution was no mere lip-service. The same fearlessness, the same realisation of the magnitude of the historical task assumed by the Russian proletariat, inspired the present Italian Communists when, in the teeth of the triumphant imperialism of the Allies and their cant about the "sacred interests of the motherland," and in spite of slander and innuendoes, they upheld the Russian Government's attitude in regard to the Treaty of Brest, as they wholly appreciated its importance for the world's proletariat. What it meant, in a country dominated by Allied imperialism, to uphold such a point of view, only those can understand who unwaveringly followed the thorny path from 1914 to 1919. The Italian Communists have valiantly kept to that path. The dawn rising over the festival of the world's proletariat is also shining over that part of their journey which lies behind them, and over their future triumphant progress towards the realisation

of the most cherished hopes of the oppressed classes. The "powerful" foe has been defeated; the German revolution, the impossibility of which was the chief argument brought forward by the opponents of Italian internationalists, is now realising the hopes of all true revolutionists beyond belief. Your "Red Ambassador," Morgari, but a few years ago ridiculed for his struggle against the "mighty" Nicholas II., is now coming to a country that has been freed both from Nicholas and from every kind of political or economic oppression; he is coming as the guest of a nation of many millions, and is greeted by them as the representative of a party that has endeared itself to the whole of the proletariat, and most especially to the Russian working classes; he is coming as the bearer of a message from you testifying to your sympathy, to your faith in our ultimate victory over our common foe, to your ardent wish and your ability to use the right means in overcoming all the obstacles hindering the emancipation of the oppressed classes.

Your incorporation in the Communist International has evoked in the hearts of Russian Communists feelings of the deepest pride and joy; it emphasises still more strongly the inner and outer unity cemented by the historical developments of recent years. Blockades, censorships, police regulations, divide us; but the community of interests and ideas which are identical with all the working classes throughout the world, and the bright torch of the revolution, have wrought between us an indissoluble bond.

The Editors of the *Communist International*, which will appear on the long-expected, auspicious festival of the First of May, are sending you, dear comrades, their hearty and cordial greetings. They say to you, in all countries, in all languages, the words that thousands of proletarians in Italy are exchanging at the dawn of a new struggle and of a new and final victory.

Buon Primo Maggio, Compagni!

ANGELICA BALABANOVA.

Moscow, Bureau of the
Third Communist International.

A Welcome to the First Number of the "Communist International."

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL appears at a time when its readers have no leisure for spacious theoretical investigations, at an epoch when the Communists of all countries have been drawn into the most cruel and passionate of struggles. To support the worker in that struggle is the task of the Review, and it will be able to fulfil it only on condition that it not merely remains an ornament of the modest bookshelf of the workman, but becomes his comrade, his mentor, with whom he does not part, in order to look into it in moments of rest and find inspiration there.

When, in the Executive Committee, we decided to publish this Review, it was clear to us that the organ of the Third International will be able to fulfil its mission only on the understanding that the Communists of all countries take active part in it. Not only the great events of world-wide importance, as the Russian, German, Austrian revolutions, but less striking facts, as the Communist movement in Spain and Portugal, the risings in India and South Africa as well—all this must equally interest our comrades. Our journal has to acquaint its readers with all the symptoms and germs of the Communist movement. However difficult the achievement of such a task be at present, it has to be carried out.

The first number of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL appears in several languages, and will be directed to all parts of the world. May this number unite old Communist friends; but may it also carry the ideas of Communism to the very darkest corners of the earth, where proletarians still groan under the yoke of capitalism—may it win us new comrades for the battle. May it serve as a ready and sharp weapon in those countries where the workers are already engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with the bourgeoisie. May it induce the proletariat of those countries where the revolutionary movement as yet is in its infancy to take part in the struggle. And for those nations where capitalism is still in untroubled peace, holding its slaves in fetters, may it serve as an alarm bell, may it rouse the proletariat and call it to the fulfilment of its international duty.

We wish with all our heart that our Review may help to realise the great words of Karl Marx :

Workers of all countries, unite!

MAX ALBERT

(Delegate of the Communist Party of Germany)

The Last Stage.

THE gigantic struggle of the proletariat is nearing its zenith. Already the Soviets of Hungary have fraternally joined the Russian Soviets. And the revolutionary forces of the proletariat of the former Danube Monarchy will soon follow their great pioneers.

It is in this great epoch that Moscow has unfurled the banner of the Communist Inter-

national. The proletariat of the whole world has forged itself a new mighty weapon, by this very means dooming to failure the cunningly devised plan of the English and American bourgeois classes—under the mask of a League of Nations to form a Holy Alliance to crush Bolshevism in all countries. And the social-patriots of all nations who, after the ignominious failure

of the old International, tried to found at Berne a new league of the proletariat of all nations, may resignedly exclaim with Mephisto : " How much exertion wasted in vain ! "

The champions of international Communism who, at a serious and important moment, created a new International in Moscow, clearly realised the difficulty of their task. The achieving of this new work will be very difficult; it will require infinitely more victims than the defunct Second International. No longer is it words, passive resistance, or self-defence that tell; but deeds, quick-biting action, born of an iron determination to win. Not theoretical propaganda alone, but—to a much greater extent—the organisation of practical action.

The economic and political conditions of all countries exploited by capital are over-ripe for radical reconstruction. Though the proletariat still seems to worship the old gods of peaceful reform, and to be subject to antiquated dogma and grey-haired authority, as a matter of fact it is penetrated by a deep desire, frequently not quite distinctly and clearly realised as yet—the desire to throw off every yoke, to release itself from all fetters, by whomsoever they be imposed. And the hour will come inevitably for every country when the proletariat will rise like one man and overthrow the bourgeoisie.

Hungary sets us the example. The bour-

geoisie and the social-patriots, side by side, have been carrying on a desperate struggle against Communism. Its Press has been suppressed, its pioneers persecuted and imprisoned. The Trade Unions and the old Socialist Party have been trying with all their might to keep the revolutionary ideas of Communism out of the political and professional organisations. Vain efforts ! As a result, what a spectacle ! The men who but yesterday filled the prisons for " seditious Communist agitation " are to-day sitting in government places as rulers of the country.

Nor will it be otherwise in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Poland. Fermentation everywhere ! And, if we are not deceived by signs, we may even now say that the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, where an " absolutism mitigated by indolence " ruled, will become the centre of Communism for ill-famed " Central Europe. "

The wave of Communist revolution, born in the East, is irresistibly rolling to the West. And it will break through with the force of nature's laws, despite all obstacles.

Woe to him who stands in its way ! He will be swept away.

K. GRUBER.

(Delegate of the Communist Party
of German Austria).

The Third International.

ON March 4, the Third International, the Communist International, was founded in Moscow, the capital of that Soviet Russia which is hermetically shut off from all capitalist States. In the Kremlin, some time the stronghold of European reaction, the representatives of the Communists of various countries swore a solemn oath to fight out and win in common the victory over the reign of capital, or to die for their ideals. Soviet Russia, resisting since more than a year and a half all efforts of counter-revolutionaries to overthrow the hated rule of the proletariat, and successfully beating off in bloody wars the coalition of European capitalist States, offered us the

possibility of realising the necessary international unity of the revolutionary proletariat. The Yellow International at Berne is opposed by the fighting organisation of the Red International.

The Third International was hardly founded when the Scheidemannists of August 4, 1914—those same men who had disregarded the resolutions of Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Basel, and had sold themselves to the bourgeoisie body and soul—flooded us with irony and abuse, and cried triumphantly : the Third International can show no men of importance. Yes, if that were so ! But the war that will be waged against these

"men of no importance" of the Third International will prove that their significance and value is well known. Hollow-sounding old names we can not count among us, but we can the names of Trotsky, Lenin, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Racovsky, Sirola, Grimald, and others, who are more feared by the bourgeoisie than Huysmans, Branting, Renaudel, Bissolatti, Scheidemann, Wels, etc. Our less well-known fellow members of the Congress promise more than those social-patriots we already know to be Judases. The dulcet jingling of the bells of the Second International may soon be drowned by the tocsin of the Communist International. The north wind of Russia will soon sweep the political horizon of Western Europe clear of the spiritual fogbanks of the social-patriots.

Let us evaluate in a few short strokes the two Congresses of Berne and Moscow.

The Congress of government Socialists in Berne was but a fencing-ring for nationalists and chauvinists, a congress of opportunists pursuing the aim of reforming the rotten capitalist States as well as possible, thereby conserving imperialism. After a touching leave-taking and some confidential conversation in the Foreign Office, these pilgrims quit their country to travel to the council of Berne with the password: "Good luck and a sharp sword." Yes, these Gallifets and Thiers of to-day and to-morrow had but one care—to walk the road of August 4 to the end, and to represent, like the faithful Fridolin, the cause of their governments as deftly as possible. Can we wonder that they joined their bloody hands with the consciousness of being united in enmity against the Communist-spirited workers?

Judging and punishing on the one side, humbly defending themselves on the other, they sat for eight days, to communicate the essence of their proceedings to the world in unanimously-carried resolutions. These hypocrites and pharisees avoided mentioning the methods by which they could lend their resolutions any kind of force.

The Congress spread a stench of putrescence—that of the putrid corpse of the Second International.

Yes! If the bourgeoisie had to reckon with only this International, it could pull its nightcap over both ears: there would be nothing to disturb its quiet.

Whence the nervousness of the bourgeoisie of whole Europe? Are there any living forces she fears? Yes. Bolshevism menacingly lifts its

head. The movement grows like an avalanche. And at the Moscow Congress the Bolsheviks of the various countries have founded their International. Harmony reigns in their proceedings; there is a unity of conception and an accord of fighting methods.

"Illegally," after weeks of dangerous and difficult journeying, the representatives of Germany, Austria, Hungary, etc., came to Moscow. Instead of discussing questions of guilt, of territories, of "Leagues of Nations," the Congress expressed its attitude in a manifesto that, carried by a unique spirit, admits of no compromise.

The platform of the new International, the theses on Allied policy, breathe the spirit of the revolutionary International, and answer to the wishes of all delegates.

What moves us is the will to end the reign of capital, and to build up Communist society on the ruins of the old economic system.

Our resolutions were a declaration of unbroken solidarity, in principle and method, with the Russian Soviet Republic. We all understood that the victory of Socialism presupposes the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Implacable war must be waged against the bourgeoisie, against the social-patriots and opportunists.

Victory will be ours, for the workers, the decisive power in the process of production to-day, are with us. Under our red banner we march towards the liberation of humanity from wage slavery.

FRITZ PLATTEN
(Delegate of the Swiss Communists).

The Third International and France.

THE Third International has been founded in Moscow. Already, five months ago, there appeared in Moscow a weekly organ of the French Socialists, called *La Troisième Internationale*. Soon, in a few months at the utmost, the Third International will, in France as in all the other countries of Europe, be the name of a large working-class party, round whose banner all revolutionary elements will gather.

Our comrades in France are still groping for a decision. They are still hesitating. The historic act accomplished by the International

Communist Conference on March 4, will draw them along, will force them to make a final choice between the old world that is dying and the new one that is being born. It will help them to realise the dilemma with which they are confronted: either the present régime, leading mankind to certain destruction, to poverty and barbarism, is to continue, or Socialism is to come out victorious, and all the dreams, all the aspirations of the proletariat are to be realised.

Not only our Socialist comrades will understand it, but the whole of the French people in its sanest elements, all that have not been blinded or intoxicated by victory and chauvinism. The problem is put too clearly for the working masses not to see what their decision ought to be. Capitalist society has broken all its democratic promises. Nay, more, it is incapable of dragging the country out of the quagmire into which it has pulled it.

After the victory that they are supposed to have gained, the producers find themselves face to face with an economic exhaustion of the country that makes the preservation of small industry with all its disadvantages—such as competition, insane waste of wealth and labour—henceforth impossible. In order to safeguard their own existence, the capitalists have to suppress the small manufacturer, to organise trusts, to establish monopolies. And such, indeed, are the intentions of the most prominent French capitalists. In order to continue its existence, in order to prolong its agony, capitalism has to intensify its concentration, to achieve an enormous socialisation—such as it needs—for its own benefit. Thus the rapacious and cruel character of capitalist society reveals itself clearly. However, taught by the evidence of these facts, the oppressed classes are opening their eyes, and are realising at last that the bourgeois order of things has become bankrupt.

Looked at from a financial point of view, what régime could solve the problem of liquidating the dozens and dozens of milliards of securities put into circulation during the war, without having recourse to the revolutionary method of annulling the State loans?

From a political point of view, again, who does not see the abyss of reaction into which France has been thrown by bourgeois dictatorship? A true dictatorship: Parliament, elected before the war, and even at that time not representative of the popular masses, continues

to manage the affairs of the country, while for five whole years workmen and peasants have had no possibility of expressing their opinion. It is a régime of the iron fist that, under the pretext of national defence, destroys the most valuable liberties. Censorship, imprisonment, exile are renewed. . . . Clemenceau rules: and in these two words everything is said.

To keep on in this way would be equivalent to leading the country to ruin by the shortest road.

No, it is not this the French people wanted. The Government has deceived it. It wanted something quite different.

We did not enter upon this war in order to conquer the left bank of the Rhine, or Syria, nor to crush the revolution in Germany and Russia. We declared war upon war, we wanted justice and peace.

We have been deceived once more. So be it. It is not so much the fault of individuals as of society as a whole. Such is the logic of a system, doomed to contradict itself and to refute its own principles.

While proclaiming peace, that system perpetuates war! While promising disarmament, it enforces the necessity of increasing the standing armies! While preaching equity, it oppresses the working class within the country, and pursues a policy of crushing all the weak nations without!

No, our hesitation has to come to an end. An abyss will open up between the blind and the seeing, between the exploiters, desperately clinging to their profits, and the workers, striving after well-being and life. Now that the Third International has been proclaimed, the workers will hurry to its ranks. The eyes of the French working men are turned towards the Kremlin—as their centre and their buttress.

There is already a small group of Communist candidates in France. Its influence is already greater than the number of its disciples. Soon it will carry along with itself the masses of the population, who will more and more abandon the leaders of official Socialism, will disavow and threaten the social-patriot traitors and their timid meddling. The Russian problem offers the opportunity for this movement. We know the excitement caused among the masses of the French population by the interference of France in the affairs of Soviet Russia. And who can say how many of the French soldiers, landed at

Odessa and Archangel, or sent to Omsk in order to crush the Russian revolution, will return to France "infected with the Bolshevik bacillus," won over to Communism?

Be that as it may, the capitalist order of things is irrevocably doomed, in spite of the support it gets from the traitors to Socialism. The war and its consequences, the impossibility of solving the new problems by present means, have cleared the road for the triumphal march of the Third International. In France a wide road opens up before it. The welcome with which, for the last two or three months, the new watchwords of the French revolution party have been meeting, the cries of "Hurrah for Lenin!", "Hurrah for Trotsky!", "Hurrah for the Soviet Republic!", "Hurrah for the dictatorship of the proletariat!" that go up at all working men's meetings, make it evident that something has changed, and that the flame which inspired our great ancestors has been rekindled once more in the hearts of the proletarians. Revolution is progressing in France. Long live the Third International!

JACQUES SADOUL

(Delegate of the French Communist Groups).

The Third International and the Problems of the French Workers.

At the beginning of February "the men of August 4, 1914" assembled in Berne. These men, who betrayed the proletarian interests in the most cynical and shameless manner, met in order to re-establish the Second International, the distinctive qualities of which were opportunism and bureaucracy. Only one French comrade—a thorn in the flesh for the Congress—represented elements faithful to revolution and internationalism; it was Comrade Loriot, who took part in the Congress with the exclusive aim of making a declaration against the social-patriots, and publicly to state that in France a great many workers unreservedly approve the way taken by the Russian Communists, and the struggle which the Communists and Spartacists in Germany are carrying on against Scheidemann and Noske.

Thus the men who, since August 4, 1914, had voted credits and recruits, who had accepted appointments in bourgeois cabinets, and had

administered military munitions (Thomas, Guesde, Sembat), now found themselves in one company with their "brothers in arms," with those who, in Germany, did the dirtiest business to the greater glory of the Hohenzollerns and the greater profits of capitalists, Scheidemann, Südekum, Noske, those inspirers of the murder of two heroes, incarnations of revolutionary reason and courage—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In Moscow, real centre not only of the Russian Communist revolution but of the universal one, the workers of the new "International," the Third, Communist and revolutionary "International," the "International of Action," have met. And the initiative of its foundation belongs to men who have already proved their revolutionary spirit and their organising abilities. Thus the work which was begun in Zimmerwald and continued in Kienthal and Stockholm receives its final shape here. Zimmerwald united all the elements of the Second "International," who had remained true to the resolutions proclaimed by the Basel, Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses, and who had in their respective countries taken up the struggle against imperialistic war. Zimmerwald contributed to the fall of the old Socialist parties attached to the Second "International," and stored up new revolutionary forces. The congress of the Third International unites the really Communist and international elements of all countries, firmly resolved to establish peace, social order, and harmony in the world republic of workers, in the place of capitalistic anarchy, war and exploitation.

Under the name of "League of Nations," the joy of social-patriots and social-opportunists, the great Powers, especially France, simply intend to redivide the world, according to their greed and insatiable appetite. The League of Nations is a new Holy Alliance of capitalists against the workers and the revolution. And the newly-formed Communist International was perfectly right in pointing out the danger of this weapon in the hands of the social-traitors, who strive to split the proletarian forces and help the imperialist counter-revolutionaries.

The most zealous advocates of the League are the American imperialists. With the help of this institution they want to prevent certain States, especially France, from increasing their territory beyond measure. The number of States grouped

around the Entente and, as it seemed, fully ensuring its final victory, appear now to be the principal reason of its weakness. And the most impudent aspirations of these pirates are growing with incredible cynicism. Thus, the *Corriere della Sera*, an important organ of the Italian imperialists, is carrying on an energetic campaign against the French imperialist, Pichon, and, during the last "National Congress," in the debates on the question of Fiume and Italian Dalmatia, the "great" leader of Italian imperialism, Gabriel d'Annunzio, proposed to claim, in order to "round off the Italian frontiers," the annexation to that State of the whole coast strip up to Valona, criticised the incapacity of the Italian Government, and turned into ridicule the Peace Conference, where, around the green cloth, Hypocrisy, Arteriosclerosis, Vanity and Cunning are in session.

What is the task the French workers now have set themselves? Notwithstanding the efforts of the papers belonging to the business men of counter-revolution and the pitiful position occupied by the social-imperialists and opportunists, the French people clearly understands that it is even its Government, led by the dictator Clemenceau, that is the chief bulwark of reaction and counter-revolution. The principal care of the Allies, particularly of France, appears to be the struggle against revolution in the occupied districts of Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc., by the most revolting means. The Allies have declared that all German ships daring to hoist the red ensign of revolution will be sunk.

The French General Staff, just established in Strasburg, that centre of "conquered" Alsace, is dissolving the Soviets, arresting their most prominent members, and has abolished the eight-hours working day. The same methods are practised in all towns on the left bank of the Rhine, and the French generals have officially declared their readiness to send military forces to the aid of the Düsseldorf bourgeoisie in its struggle against the Communists. Clemenceau and Pichon solemnly proclaim the economic blockade of Russia, the destruction of the revolutionary republic by starvation; they promise every kind of technical support to the counter-revolutionaries rallied round Denikin, Kolchak and Krasnov. Under the direction and responsibility of the French Government, the partisans of counter-revolution occupying the Ukraine perpetrated, during their short rule, the most heinous

crimes, which make all the far-famed doings of the German "barbarians" during four years of war, daily denounced by the chauvinistic Press, grow pale. Some days before the liberation of Odessa, the courageous French woman Communist, Jeanne Labourbe, and her comrades, editors of the Communist organ, *Le Tocsin*, were shot without trial. In France, the dictator Clemenceau gives free rein to his purely sadist thirst of blood and tortures: searches and arrests are the order of the day; all who are struggling to rescue the workers, soldiers, and peasants of France from the steel clutches of the murderers, the exploiting capitalists, are branded with ignominy. The French bourgeoisie, seized by panic dread before the growth of the revolutionary movement, has organised the National Confederation of Capital to counter-balance the General Confederation of Labour.

In order to overthrow this brutal régime of violence—a régime that has clearly proved how utterly the bourgeoisie is devoid of the most elementary feelings of justice, equality, and fraternity, although these words are carved on all public buildings and monuments, and are constantly being emphasised by all sorts of petty political men and bourgeois orators—the French proletariat has no other way but to follow the one taken by the Russian proletariat, that is, to take power into its own hands. Instead of a class government, formed out of the Chamber of Deputies, elected on the basis of a superannuated system, they must establish a Council of workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' delegates, the only rational organ of the workers' democracy, uniting legislative with executive power. In order to bring this cause, this change, to a successful end, the French proletarians must declare a general strike and, rifle in hand, take possession of all public buildings: banks, State departments, railway stations, central telephone and telegraph offices, the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, the Elysée Palace, the Prefecture of Police, etc. The same measures taken in the country will enable them to establish throughout France the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the solid establishment of proletarian power, the formation of strong reliable organisations is necessary; all those who have betrayed proletarian interests since August 4, 1914, opportunists as well as social-imperialists, who in the most serious moments have always acted

hand in hand with counter-revolution, must be excluded from them.

The programme established by the Congress of the Third International states that it is necessary to form a block of all elements of the workers' revolutionary movement who, although formerly not belonging to the Socialist Party, at present accept in its entirety the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets—in other words, with the corresponding elements of syndicalism. With regard to France, this article of the programme means that the change in the grouping of the revolutionary forces must include: the Left Zimmerwaldists, who were rallied in the Socialist Party around Loriot and Saumoneau; the anti-parliamentarian syndicalists, who during the war were decided partisans of the class struggle, and declared themselves against reformism and the League of Nations; all left elements, standing on the ground of the Russian Communist revolution, the general watchwords of which they have adopted, grouped round the organs: the *Vie Ouvrière*, the *Plèbe*, the *Ce qu'il faut Dire*, the *Avenir International*, and others. These elements, by the way, have already taken part in such groups as: the Committee for the Renewal of International Relations, the Committee for the Defence of Syndicalism, and the Federation of Anarchist-Communists. Care should be taken not to exclude Anarchist-Communist elements who were in opposition to the Socialist Party before the war, accusing the latter of opportunism, and who added the word "Anarchist" to the word "Communist"—without any scientific basis it is true—with the sole aim of separating themselves from the "Unified Socialists," already carrying in themselves the microbe of treason. The "Unified" party of French Socialists is contaminated throughout with the poison of decomposition, and, in spite of the propaganda started by opportunist neo-compromisers (partisans of Longuet), counts at present not over 50,000 members; whereas the Federation of Metal Workers alone counted, on July 1, 1918, 204,234 members, and the Syndicate of Railwaymen, in 1918, about 150,000 members.

It is necessary to proceed at once, from the very first days of the proletarian revolution, to the nationalisation of big industrial enterprises,

of the whole trading apparatus, and the banks, and immediately to start on the socialisation of production. Although in recent years France has enormously gained in importance in the sphere of manufacturing industry, it nevertheless remains an agricultural country; that is why the new French Soviet Republic will be obliged to begin with the immediate examination and decision of the agrarian question; it will have to take their lands, and the industrial enterprises established on the latter, from the big land-owners, to nationalise the land, and to put its exploitation under the control of rural labour.

France, as a great imperialist State, was very successful in her colonial policy; Algiers, Tunis, Madagascar, Tonkin, etc., all these lands were conquered by her in turn, and their population was turned into slaves by the most merciless and inhuman measures. The French Communists will find themselves faced with the task of helping all these races hoist the flag of revolt, and of collaborating in their liberation from the yoke of French imperialism. The colonial revolutionary movement must be supported by a simultaneous corresponding movement in the vast territories occupied by Great Britain in India and Egypt, because the French colonies are in the neighbourhood of the British, and the antagonism which had always existed between French and British imperialism is well known to everybody.

The armed French proletariat must create a Red Army for the defence and completion of the revolution. Later, this army—when its task at home is finally achieved—will prove the reliable protector of the Belgian proletariat and the proletariat of French Switzerland, where the bourgeoisie is still very powerful.

Leaning on the Russian Federal Soviet Republic, the French Soviet Republic will be invincible; and if a similar movement spreads in all countries which have not yet succeeded in overthrowing their class governments—unmistakable symptoms whereof already appear—the European Soviet Republic will be proclaimed in Europe.

H. GUILBEAUX.
(Delegate of the French Left Wing
of Zimmerwald).

Great Times.

THE Tsars and the priests—the former lords of the Moscow Kremlin—never foresaw, we may imagine, that within its hoary walls would one day gather the representatives of the most revolutionary part of contemporary humanity. Nevertheless, this has happened. In one of the halls of the Palace of Justice, where still are wandering the wan ghosts of the criminal paragraphs of the Imperial code, at this moment the delegates of the Third International are in session. Verily, the mole of history has dug his tunnel well beneath the Kremlin walls.

These material surroundings of the Communist Congress are merely the outward expression, the visible embodiment, of the gigantic changes which have taken place in the world during the last ten or twelve years.

In the days of the First, and again in those of the Second Internationals, Tsarist Russia was the chief stronghold of world reaction. At the International Socialist Congresses, the Russian revolution was represented by emigrants, towards whom the majority of the opportunist leaders of European Socialism adopted an attitude of ironical condescension. The bureaucrats of Parliamentarism and Trade Unionism were filled with an unshakeable certainty that the miseries of a revolution were to be the lot only of semi-Asiatic Russia, while Europe was assured of a gradual, painless, peaceful development from Capitalism to Socialism.

But in August, 1914, the accumulated antagonisms of Imperialism tore to pieces the “peaceful” cloak of capitalism, with its Parliamentarism, its established “liberties,” and its legalised prostitution, political and otherwise. From the heights of civilisation mankind found itself hurled into an abyss of terrifying barbarism and blood-stained savagery.

Notwithstanding that Marxist theory had foreseen and foretold the bloody catastrophe, the social-reformist parties were taken completely by surprise. The perspectives of peaceful development became smoke and dust. The opportunist leaders could find no work left for them but to call upon the toiling masses to defend the capitalist national State. On August 4, 1914, the Second International perished with dis-honour.

From that moment, all true revolutionary heirs of the Marxian spirit placed before themselves the task of creating a new International—an International of unquenchable revolutionary struggle against capitalist society. The war let loose by Imperialism upset the balance of the whole of the capitalist world. All questions revealed themselves as revolutionary questions. The old revolutionary cobblers applied all their arts in order to preserve the semblance of the old hopes, the old lies, the old organisations. All was of no avail. The war—not for the first time in history—showed itself the mother of the revolution. An imperialist war brought forth a proletarian revolution.

The honour of having taken the first step belongs to the Russian working class and its veteran, battle-scarred Communist Party. By its November revolution the Russian proletariat not only opened the gates of the Kremlin to the representatives of the international proletariat, but also laid the foundation stone for the building of the Third International.

The revolutions in Germany, Austria and Hungary; the stormy tide of the Soviet movement and of civil war that has poured over Europe, crested by the martyrdom of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and many thousands of nameless heroes; these have shown that the paths of Europe are not other than those of Russia. The unity of method in the struggle for Socialism, revealed by practice, has laid the ideal foundations for the creation of a Communist International, while, at the same time, it has rendered impossible the postponement of a Communist Congress.

At this moment, that Congress is sitting within the walls of the Kremlin. We are witnesses of and participants in one of the greatest events in the history of the world.

The working class of the whole world has wrested the most impregnable fortress of all—that of former Imperial Russia—from its enemies. On it as its base, it is uniting its forces for the last decisive battle.

What happiness—to live and fight at such a time!

L. TROTSKY.

Documents of the International Communist Movement.

A Letter of Comrade Loriot to the Yellow International at Berne.

CITIZEN DELEGATES,

SUBSTITUTING yourselves for the bourgeois diplomats that have gathered in Paris in order to endeavour to decide the destiny of the nations in accordance with their class-interests, the majority of you have come here, not with a view to finding a Socialist solution for the tragic problems put before mankind by the heavy crime of the capitalists, but in order to make the International justify the governmental, nationalist, and chauvinist neo-Socialism of war, everywhere establishing itself on the ruins of the true one the day after the war had been declared.

Those I speak of have gathered, not in order to confirm their adherence to the Amsterdam pact, that before the war was our common charter, nor in order to declare, in the face of reaction let loose, their determination to see Socialism realised, but in order to obtain the official sanction of the International for the policy of the bourgeois democrat Wilson, the ally of the American milliardaires. And, lastly and chiefly, they have gathered—and that in the most perfect unanimity—in order to obtain a verdict against the immense effort made in Russia for the liberation of the proletariat, the liberation that is irrepressibly advancing through Europe towards the Western nations. Thus the final suppression of the Spartacist movement in Germany would be justified; thus the revolutionary efforts of the French, the British, the Italian proletariat would be seized by suspicion and paralysed.

We want to be neither the dupes nor the accomplices of these anti-Socialist and counter-revolutionary doings. The effectiveness, the activity one tries to restore to the Second International is an illusion. The capitalist war has mortally wounded it, the policy of the social-nationalists has succeeded in finally killing it as a class organisation. All efforts to give it back

the character it has lost will be in vain. The history of Socialism is not made at congresses; it is made, page by page and day by day, by the workers; nor are the revolutionary, fully conscious, best elements of the proletariat any longer with you to-day.

Experience has taught them the danger to which capitalist anarchy exposes the peace of the world and the safety of Labour. They know the value of the sham concessions that the bourgeoisie makes to force. They do not expect the salvation of the proletariat except from a revolutionary establishment of a new regime based on the suppression of private property, i.e., of a Socialist order of things. Nor is it towards the Berne Conference that the eyes of the workmen and peasants, ruined and starved as they are, turn. It is the capitalist Governments whose destruction ought to be your mission, and with whom you have linked your fate, that are watching you, that await from you actions that would serve their aims.

We know there are sincere Socialists here, with a glorious revolutionary past; but they fail to disavow the work of the others; and thus take upon themselves a heavy share of responsibility. History has severe judgment in store for them. As for ourselves, for ever tied up with Socialism and its glorious traditions of class struggle and revolution, we send our fraternal greetings to the Russian Communist Republic, that fights against a world of bourgeois and pseudo-Socialist enemies; we assure it of our active solidarity.

Scorning the assassins of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, as well as that sham Socialist Government that, with the aid of the generals of the Empire, thrust the weapon into their hands, we express to the revolutionary proletariat of Germany and of all the other countries our hope for their final and decisive victory, that will also be the victory of the proletariat of the world.

F. LORIOT.

On the Death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

An Appeal of the Spartacus Union to the Workers of all Countries.

PROLETARIANS, COMRADES !

WE call to you in the bitterest hour, we turn to you in grievous pain. We appeal to you at a time when we deplore the greatest loss that could have come to us.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg are no more.

French comrades, do you remember that day when you were deprived of Jean Jaurès? It was blind madness, bloody fanaticism, that directed the assassin hand of a frenzied scion of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie needed a victim, it had to push aside the last obstacle standing between it and the war of its desire. So it singled out the man whose word was the mightiest to maintain peace. And what a wave of horror passed through the entire International! A cry of dismay so loud that it outvoiced even the hoarse howling of the wolves of war. And here in Germany, those Socialists who had already sealed a covenant with the Kaiser, who had already in secret conferences accorded their co-operation to Prussian militarism and German imperialism—how they lifted up their voices over the death of that Jaurès, whom they were in the very act of betraying, how indignant were they over the violation of right and justice, over the outrage to humanity!

And yet the crime that was committed then was small in comparison to the one perpetrated now. Then it was the bourgeoisie that did the deed, like so many thousand others, for the sake of its profits; then it was our enemy who slew our best comrade, but we knew that we have nothing better to expect. But now it is a Socialist Government, a Government lifted to the helm of State by a revolution, by the revolutionary energy and force of workmen and soldiers, that has had assassinated the foremost champions of that revolution.

Yes, workers, comrades, before you, before the International, before the whole world, before Time, before History, we accuse :

The Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske Government of having consciously and wilfully caused Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg to be murdered.

It has incited the murderers to the deed, and shielded them after the deed.

Proletarians, comrades!

Remember the situation we were in. From the end of October, 1918, it was clear that a revolution in Germany was inevitable. The bourgeoisie trembled. It knew that the revolution would be a judgment on it for all its crimes. But it knew as well that it had only one reliable bodyguard : the Ebert-Scheidemann party. This party had, during the last four years, undertaken to justify every rascality of the militarist party, every roguery of diplomacy, every brutality of the bourgeoisie, in the eyes of the proletarians. To this bodyguard, then, the bourgeoisie turned in its need. And Ebert, Scheidemann, and their men joyously undertook the task of defence. They spared no efforts to put the rising spirits to sleep again, and, should the storm break loose, at least to take the edge off it. When, on November 3, the first sailor riots broke out in Kiel, it was Noske, the same Noske that now sits in the Cabinet, who was sent to Kiel to smother the movement. Up to November 9, the day the unrest spread to Berlin, Ebert, Scheidemann, and their followers worked against the revolution; and only when they saw that, in spite of all efforts, it was not to be averted, did they put themselves at the head of the movement, to lead it to the end that continually was before their eyes : saving the bourgeoisie in its dire need.

All their actions since November 9 have served this end. One of the first was the declaration of the inviolability of private property. The business world was given the most reassuring promises. The old state of affairs in the organisation of administration and jurisdiction, in the matter of duties and taxes, was re-established. The authority of the officers that had been destroyed by the soldiers was set up again. All

the accomplices and casual employees of William the Second, from Hindenburg and the Foreign Office down to the last night-watchman, were confirmed in their offices. The soldiers were deprived of weapons, while they were left to the officers. The workers were exhorted to keep the peace, and their just demands in the matter of wages were answered by "the needs of the fatherland"—in other words, of the bourgeoisie.

The Ebert-Scheidemann Government clearly recognised that it could attain its aim, the saving of the bourgeoisie, only by the sharpest struggle against the representatives of proletarian revolution in general, and against the now murdered comrades, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, in particular.

And so they began, in the first weeks following the revolution, a campaign of calumny against the Spartacus Union and these two comrades, the like of which is not to be found in history. As early as November, in Berlin, leaflets and street-posters incited the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, under the very eyes of the Government. A price was even set on their assassination. The Ebert-Scheidemann Government moved not a finger. Everybody knew perfectly well from whom these summons came. Yet they were left undisturbed. The whole pack of the bourgeois Press took up the catch-word, and gave tongue. The *Vorwärts*, the organ of Ebert and Scheidemann, took the lead in the baiting. Counter-revolution appeared more and more impudently and insolently: the Ebert-Scheidemann Government itself summoned counter-revolutionary troops to Berlin. It was clear to all: the leader of counter-revolution, the bitterest enemy, of the proletarians, ready to drown the revolution in a sea of blood, was the Ebert-Scheidemann Government.

The month of January, 1919, brought their plans to maturity. Ebert and Scheidemann prepared to strike a new blow. The Chief of the Berlin police, elected by the revolutionary authorities, and who had discovered the impudent plots of counter-revolution, was to be got rid of. The proletariat of Berlin did not intend to stand this, and attempted to ward off the attempt. The Ebert-Scheidemann Government had no troops to back it. In this hour of need it threw off the mask of revolution, and showed its real face. It armed the university students, formed battalions exclusively consisting of officers, dealt out weapons to bankers' sons and professional men,

summoned a few unenlightened regiments consisting of 18—19-year-old lads—and these blood-stained butchers of Finnish and Ukrainian revolution did their bloody work in Berlin. Proletarians were put against walls without judgment. *Parlementaires* were flogged to death. Proletarians were arrested, their houses broken into and plundered. The Ebert-Scheidemann gang wanted to show that they could do as much in Berlin as Ludendorff and Co. had done in Belgium and Northern France. They wanted to show themselves the worthy successors of Gallifet and Co., the butchers of the French Commune.

It was clear that, should the leaders of the Spartacus movement, Comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg, fall into the hands of this gang, their life was forfeit. Every child knew it in Berlin. The Ebert-Scheidemann Government knew it, too. They did not think of stopping their bands. The *Vorwärts* encouraged them every day. And so the horrible came to pass.

When Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were seized, they were knocked down with rifle butts, shot at, murdered. Ebert and Scheidemann did all that was in their power to shield the murderers they themselves had encouraged. They spread the clumsiest lies in order to exculpate themselves; thus, that Karl Liebknecht was shot while attempting flight. The untruth of this was obvious to all. They said that Rosa Luxemburg had been killed by the mob. It is positive that she was knocked down by soldiers standing in readiness for the purpose, on leaving the military building from which she was to be transferred to prison. To cover up the crime, the dead body was made away with. It had been stolen, said Ebert and Scheidemann. A body, knocked down by soldiers, transported by a military patrol, stolen! Fourteen days passed without the bodies being found. The inquiry was trusted to a military court, of which every child knew that it had but one interest: to let the culprits escape. A proposal to confide the inquiry to an impartial tribunal was refused by the Government. The inculpated officers, heavily compromised by their own words, have been left at liberty. Important witnesses were spirited away.

Proletarians of all countries!

This murderous deed will find other judges. We turn to you, comrades. It is for you to pronounce judgment. It is for you that these com-

rades so ignominiously murdered laid down their lives. They were your guides and your friends.

Proletarians, lift up your voice! Shame, eternal shame to the murderers! They must not find room for themselves among comrades, wherever they go. The butchers of the new Commune, may they perish together with their capitalist masters!

In this dreadful hour we call to you. Do not allow these our dead to have died in vain. Their last thoughts were for you and for your libera-

tion. Take up the fight, then, against your oppressors, each in his own country.

On the day when capitalism and its henchmen, loaded with curses, sinks to its grave, on that day will our dead arise again. Not the trumpet of the Day of Judgment will wake them, but the cry rising from millions of throats:

Workers of the world, unite!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY
(Spartacus Union).

Adhesions to the Communist International.

I.

Address of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party to the Bureau of the Third International.

DEAR COMRADES,

THE Serbian Social Democratic Labour Party has been very glad to learn that in February the first Congress of the Communist International is to meet in Moscow. The Party is much grieved that, owing to delay in the transmission of the news, it cannot send its delegates to the Congress. But we are happy to send you at least our most hearty and sincere greeting, and to wish you success in the building up of the new International.

Dear comrades, you are acquainted with the conduct of our Party during the Balkan War and the present war. We have been true to the last to the teaching of our great masters, Marx and Engels. We looked on the traitors to Socialism with contempt and disgust. Our Party never for an instant forgot, even at the most critical moments, its holy duty to the International. In the days of triumph, when our bourgeoisie rejoiced at victory over Turkey and Bulgaria, in the days of bitter defeat, when our population retreated over the cruel mountains of Albania side by side with our vanquished army, in those days still more bitter of barbaric foreign invasion, we acknowledged but one duty—truceless war against the bourgeoisie. "Civic peace" never acquired right of citizenship in our coun-

try. We knew only one war—the war of Labour against Capital. The recent invitation of the social-patriots to send delegates to Berne our Party declined, not wishing to have anything in common with the traitors to Socialism.

A war of nearly six years has grievously thinned our ranks: our best comrades have perished in the trenches, at forced labour, in concentration and prisoner-of-war camps, many through epidemic diseases. We have lost a good half of our Party workers. But, in spite of our losses, the spirit in our ranks is unquenched as ever. After a three years' break, we set about the rebuilding of Party work with vigour, in full consciousness of the fact that Europe has entered upon a period of social revolution.

Broad layers of the popular masses rally round the standard of our Party, having convinced themselves, after long and painful experimenting, that only our Party stands for the interests of the working masses and "village poverty." The tremendous progress our Party has made in the minds of the people these last three months can be explained in no other way.

The high cost of living, the scarcity of fuel and clothing, unscrupulous profiteering, and the cessation of railway traffic, have roused steadily growing discontent in the broad masses. Our "national reunion" did not seem to be progressing at all. "Our" Yugo-Slav bourgeoisie proved incapable of completing its national revolution.

On January 25 and 26, a conference of the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia

met at Zagreb. The following resolution, among others, was passed: "The conference sends its greeting to Soviet Russia. It greets social revolution in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, as well as the revolutionary movements in other countries." This conference first revealed the force of Communist tendencies in the Yugo-Slav proletariat. In eight weeks' time a Yugo-Slav Social-Democratic Congress is to meet, with the aim of organising a united Yugo-Slav Labour Party, and there is not the slightest doubt as to the victory of the Communist group. The Serbian Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, stand on the Communist platform. The workmen of Croatia and Slavonia are no less convinced than we that the road to Socialism lies through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the form of this dictatorship is the Soviet system.

Dear comrades, we firmly believe that the First Congress of the Communist International will create a fighting organ that answers to the interests of the world revolution.

We once more send you our brotherly, heartfelt, sincere greeting.

Long live the new Communist International!

THE SERBIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
LABOUR PARTY.

II.

Adhesion of the Italian Socialist Party.

The Central Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party has passed the following resolution:

"Taking into consideration, that: (1) The International Socialist Bureau was but a tool in the hands of the so-called 'democratic bourgeoisie' in the matter of war policy, that it wilfully deceived the proletariat, and was a hindrance to the reforming of a revolutionary Socialist International; that (2) the alliance concluded at Berne between the social-patriotic and 'internationalist' representatives of the Allied countries and those of the Central Powers throws a

glaring light on the character of all groups that have neglected their duty, the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party resolves to leave the International Socialist Bureau and to join the revolutionary Socialist International, in which the Party intends to work hand in hand with the Russian Communists. The Italian Party further resolves to spare no effort in order to bring about the adhesion of the Socialists of all countries who have remained loyal to the principles of the International."

Through Budapest, March 18, 1919.

III.

Adhesion of the Dutch Communist Party.

THE Executive Committee of the Dutch Communist Party has resolved to join the Third Communist International, founded March 6.

Berlin, April 13.

Declaration of the Delegates of the Hungarian Communist Party.

DELEGATED by the Communist Party of Hungary to the First Congress of the Third International, we are much grieved that, owing to transport difficulties and the fighting between Ukrainian Soviet troops and the hordes of the "People's Republic" we were prevented from arriving in time for the sessions of the Congress.

It would have been our pride and joy to have taken our part in that great, historic event: the founding of the Third International.

We declare, in the name of the Communist Party of Hungary, that we approve of all steps taken by our Comrade Endre Rudnyánszky, representing our Party at the Congress in our stead, and sanction all his declarations and signatures.

L. RUDAS. G. KOHN.

Moscow, April 10, 1919.

Letter of Raoul Verfeuil.

THE Socialist Internationalists of France passed a resolution to participate in the Berne Conference with the object of passing a vote of censure against all chauvinistic fanaticism, and of standing up for the principles of class struggle as accepted by the Congress of Amsterdam. We also hoped that the Conference would declare its solidarity with the Russian workers' revolution, threatened at the present moment by the imperialists of the Entente as it was threatened before by the German.

The absence of our Russian, Italian, Swiss, Rumanian, and Serbian comrades has prevented our attaining this object. All we could do was to avert the official censuring of the Soviet régime. Although this success is only a negative one, I consider it to be most essential. If the comrades who could not or would not come

to Berne were to attend the next international Congress, we should surely achieve an effective victory. I beg them to appear there.

The International ought to follow the tactics we pursued in our French section; the rule of the "majority" must be overthrown and the direction of the International taken from it. Thus we can restore to the International its vital energy and that revolutionary character it at present so badly lacks.

With all my heart I welcome the Russian proletariat in its struggle for its final liberation, and I express the warmest wishes for its victory, which will be at the same time the victory of the working classes in all countries.

R. VERFEUIL.

Berne, February 10, 1919.

From the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Appeal to the Workers and Soldiers of all Countries from the Communist International.

COMRADES,
IN Hungary power has passed into the hands of the working class.

The imperialists of the countries of the Entente have placed a new ultimatum before Hungary. They wished to deprive Hungary of all her vital resources. They wished to deprive her of her independence. They desired to conduct a war against Soviet Russia through her territory.

The imperialists of the Entente thought that the Hungarian bourgeoisie would consent to their new ultimatum. The imperialists of the Entente expected that the Hungarian proletariat would prove powerless to repulse their bloodthirsty pretensions.

This was not to be. Fearing to provoke the ire of the people, the Hungarian bourgeoisie decided not to accept the imperialistic ultimatum. The Hungarian bourgeoisie, much against their will, were obliged to cede power to the working people. The imperialists of the Entente had to desist. Their predatory attempt against Hungary only accelerated the birth of the Socialist Republic of Soviets in Hungary. The Hungarian bourgeoisie, acknowledging themselves powerless to save their country from ruin, only proved with particular vividness that the historical rôle of the bourgeoisie is played out, and that its gravedigger, the proletariat, has now come to relieve it.

But the imperialists of the Entente will not

give way. In Paris the imperialist cut-throats are sharpening the knife which is to kill the youthful Soviet Republic of Hungary.

There is no slander too outrageous to be spread by these bourgeois about the Socialist Republic of Hungary—exactly as has been going on during the last sixteen months in the case of the Republic of Soviets of Russia. The French imperialistic government is preparing to send its soldiers against the Hungarian workers, and to move the Rumanian and Czecho-Slovak troops against the Hungarian Republic of Soviets.

Will this devilish plot succeed? The fate of the working class of Hungary is greatly dependent on this. To a considerable degree the immediate issues of the proletarian revolution in all the other countries of Europe depend on this also.

In the name of the Communist International, we address ourselves to the workers of all countries with an appeal to come to the aid of our brothers, the Hungarian working men and peasants.

Workers and soldiers of France! The eyes of the workers of the whole world are now turned towards you. The French bourgeoisie is at this moment the most reactionary of all Europe. The leader of the French imperialists, Clemenceau, is the principal instigator of the "Allies" in the work of annihilating the Russian and Hungarian revolution.

You, French working men and soldiers, have been chosen for the hangman's work of strangling the Hungarian Socialist revolution. The French bourgeoisie wish to kill the proletarian revolution in Budapest by your hands, in order to ward off the ripening revolution in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London. After four and a half years of war, four and a half years of fighting in the interests of the bankers, you are to be used as international gendarmes, as the butchers of the proletarian revolution.

This must not be. The French working men must not turn traitors. They will rather turn their bayonets against their own oppressors, against the French and other imperialists.

Comrades! Proletarian revolution is flaring up throughout the world. The Hungarian revolution is the first flash of sheet-lightning cutting through the dark storm-clouds that cover the sky.

The bourgeoisie of all countries, which has killed twenty millions of men in this bloodiest of

wars, shall now answer to us for its crimes. Mankind is not quite mad as yet. The people will not leave power in the hands of those who have led to this imperialist slaughter.

All must come to aid the Hungarian proletarian revolution!

Soldiers! Do not submit to those who are sending you against revolutionary Hungary. Arise, elect your own Soviets, and go over to the side of the Hungarian Soviets.

Workers! Rise in rebellion against Governments that send you to fight working Hungary.

Let the Hungarian Socialist revolution serve as a threatening warning to the bourgeoisie of all countries! Hands off revolutionary Hungary! This cry must resound throughout the whole world.

May the Hungarian Socialist revolution be but the beginning of a whole series of new proletarian revolutions. The rule of the bourgeoisie has come to an end.

Long live the working class and the revolutionary soldiers of Hungary! Long live the Hungarian Communist Party! Long live the universal proletarian revolution!

*The Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International,*

G. ZINOVIEV.

March 28, 1919.

Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Congress of Hungarian Communists.

Budapest.

*To the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,
Bela Kun—for the Congress of Hungarian
Communists.*

DEAR COMRADES,

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I send your Congress a brotherly Communist greeting.

The operations of the Hungarian Soviet Government and the Hungarian Communist Party during the first month of your dictatorship will remain for ever as a sample of proletarian fearlessness and Communist farsightedness and wisdom.

The Hungarian Communists have proved themselves worthy of the high part they have been called upon to play.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International expects your Congress to unite your Communist Party, to give it a precisely-defined Communist programme, and to decree that your Party shall bear the name of the Communist Party.

Within the limits of separate Soviets there may exist and work together two and even more parties. But for us it is absolutely indispensable, under all and any conditions, to have in each country a closely united Communist Party, sure of its aims, with a precise programme and an iron discipline. To desist from this, particularly in a country where such a Party has already been formed, would mean to take a step backwards.

Communism is marching on with seven-league boots. Decisive issues are coming faster than we thought. The bourgeoisie will now do all it can in order to organise a counter-revolutionary movement against Communism. Let us be ready to meet appropriately its blows and wiles. We need fear no enemy then.

The Communist International will be indefatigable in its appeals to the workers of all countries to come to the aid of the Hungarian, Russian and Bavarian Soviet Republics. The

working classes of the other countries will follow in your footsteps.

Long live the Hungarian Communists and their Congress!

On the instruction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,
G. ZINOVIEV.

München. (By radio.)
To the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I send through you a warm greeting to the Bavarian proletariat which has founded a Soviet Republic. We are firmly convinced that in a short time all Germany will be a Soviet Republic. The Communist International knows very well that at this moment you are occupying the most responsible post in all Germany. The fate of proletarian revolution in Europe is being decided where you stand.

Long live the German proletariat and its Communist Party! Long live the universal Communist revolution!

The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,
G. ZINOVIEV.

The New Crime of the German "Social-Democratic" Government.

In Berlin a new monstrous crime has been committed by the Government of the German Social-Democrats. The Government of Scheidemann and Noske has brutally shot Comrade Leo Tyszko, an old revolutionary, the former representative of the Polish Social-Democrats in the Second International. For over 30 years Comrade Tyszko has fought in the workers' ranks for the cause of Socialism. Comrade Tyszko was at the head of the heroic Polish proletariat at the time when the latter erected the first revolutionary barricades in Warsaw and Lodz. Many years Comrade Tyszko passed in prison, as a fighter for the workers' cause. In 1906 he was sentenced to eight years' hard labour. When he succeeded in escaping from prison, he at once resumed the struggle for the cause of Socialism. The revolution of November found Tyszko in a German

prison, into which he was thrown by the Government of William II. For ten years Comrade Tyszko was one of the most faithful and prominent leaders of the German revolutionary movement. Together with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Comrade Tyszko was the principal founder of the Spartacus group, which later developed into the Communist Party of Germany. International Socialism knew no more devoted, more self-denying, or more energetic workman than Comrade Tyszko.

And this is the comrade that Scheidemann and Noske, who call themselves Social-Democrats, have now brutally murdered.

Comrade Tyszko was shot because to his last breath he was faithful to the interests of the working class and Communism.

Comrade Tyszko was shot because he was the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order.

The Communist International calls upon the workers of all countries to bare their heads before the grave of this remarkable fighter and organiser of indomitable energy. The Communist International is convinced that the day is not far off when the workers of Germany will deal with the

bourgeois executioners and butchers of the Berlin Communists—Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske—according to their merits.

*The Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International,*

G. ZINOVIEV.

April 1, 1919.

Resolutions of the First Congress of the Communist International.

Platform of the Communist International—Drawn up by Comrades M. Albert and N. Bukharin and Adopted by the Congress.

I.

A NEW era has dawned, the era of the collapse of capitalism, of its internal break-up, the era of the Communist Revolution of the proletariat. Triumphant proletarian revolutions in some countries; growing revolutionary fermentation in other countries; uprisings in colonies; the utter incapacity of the governing classes to guide any further the destinies of peoples—that is the spectacle of the present state of things throughout the world.

Humanity, whose entire civilisation now lies shattered in fragments, is menaced by the danger of complete annihilation. There is only one power which can save it: that power is the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" cannot exist any longer. Chaos is the final result of the capitalist method of production, and it can only be overcome by the largest productive class—the working class. Real order—the Communist order—must be made by the workers. They must break the domination of Capitalism, make wars impossible, abolish all State frontiers, transform the whole world into one community whose labour shall be for its own good, and realise the brotherhood and liberty of the peoples.

As against this, world-capitalism is making ready for the final contest. Under the guise of a "League of Nations," and with a host of pacifist phrases, it is making a last attempt to piece together again the parts of the capitalist

system, which are spontaneously crumbling, and to direct its forces against the ever-growing proletarian revolution. The proletariat must reply to this colossal conspiracy of the capitalist class by the conquest of the political power, direct that power against its class enemies, and set it in motion as a lever for the economic revolution. The ultimate triumph of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the true history of a free humanity.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

The capture of political power by the proletariat is identical with the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organised power of the bourgeoisie is the bourgeois machinery of the Government, with its capitalist army, commanded by bourgeois and Junker officers; with its police and gendarmerie; with its gaolers and judges; with its priests and State functionaries. The conquest of political power does not simply mean a change of personnel in the Ministries. It means the overthrow of the hostile State-machinery, the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, the White Guards, and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiers, and of the Red Workers' Guards; the removal of all bourgeois judges, and the organisation of proletarian tribunals; the abolition of the rule of the reactionary State officials, and the creation

of new proletarian organs of administration. The triumph of the proletariat consists in disorganising the hostile authority and organising the proletarian authority; in destroying the bourgeois State machine and creating a proletarian machinery of State. Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and has broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can it make use of its former opponents for the benefit of the new order by placing them under its control and gradually associating them in the work of Communist reconstruction.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The proletarian State, like every other State, is an *apparatus of repression*. It is, however, directed against the enemies of the working class. Its aim is to break down the resistance of the exploiters, who, in the desperate contest, use every means to suppress the revolution in blood, and render it impossible. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it a privileged position in society, is, otherwise, a temporary arrangement. In proportion as the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken and the bourgeoisie is expropriated and gradually becomes a part of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear, the State will die out, and classes will cease to exist.

So-called democracy, i.e., bourgeois democracy, is nothing but the veiled *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The famous "general will of the people" no more exists than does the "homogeneous nation." As a matter of fact, what exists is classes with antagonistic, irreconcilable interests. Inasmuch, however, as the bourgeoisie represents but a small minority, it needs this fiction, this pretence of the national "will of the people," in order, by means of this high-sounding phrase, to establish its domination over the working classes and to impose upon them its own class-will. As against this, the proletariat, forming, as it does, the vast majority of the population, openly makes use of the class-power of its mass-organisations, of its councils (Soviets), in order to abolish the privileges of the bourgeoisie, and to secure the transition to a Communist society, in which classes will have no place. In bourgeois democracy, the centre of gravity lies in the purely formal declarations of rights and liberties, which, however, are quite unattainable by the working people—the proletariat and semi-proletariat—who possess no

material means, whilst the bourgeoisie employs its material means in order to deceive and gull the people with the aid of its Press and organisations. As against this, the Soviet system—this new type of State-authority—applies itself to the task of enabling the proletariat to realise its rights and liberties. The Soviet authority hands over the best palaces, houses, printing works, stocks of paper, etc., to the people for its Press, its meetings, and its unions. Only in this way, indeed, does a real proletarian democracy become possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its Parliamentary system, only deludes the masses of the people into believing that they participate in the government of the State. In point of fact, the masses and their organisations are held completely at a distance from actual power and actual government. In the Soviet system, on the contrary, it is the organisations of the masses, and through them the masses themselves, that govern, since the Soviets associate with the State administration an ever-increasing number of workers. Only in this way will the entire working population gradually become associated with the actual business of government. The Soviet system rests therefore on the mass-organisations of the proletariat, that is, on the Councils (Soviets) themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, co-operative societies, etc. Bourgeois democracy and the Parliamentary system, by the separation of legislative and executive power and by the irrevocable Parliamentary mandate, widen the gulf between the masses and the State. Under the Soviet system, on the contrary, the right of recall, the combination of the legislative and executive powers, the character of the councils as working corporations, identify the masses with the government of the country. This connection is further promoted by the fact that under the Soviet system the elections do not take place on the basis of artificial territorial areas, but on that of places of production.

In this way the Soviet system realises true proletarian democracy, democracy for and within the proletariat, as against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat enjoys under this system a privileged position, since it is the most advanced, the best organised, and politically the ripest class, under whose hegemony the semi-proletariat and the small peasant of the countryside are to be gradually raised to a higher level. These temporary privileges of the industrial pro-

letariat must be made use of in order to withdraw the poorer lower middle-class masses of the countryside from under the influence of the large farmers and bourgeoisie, and to organise and educate them as co-workers in the task of Communist reconstruction.

II.

THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE SOCIALISATION OF PRODUCTION.

THE dissolution of the capitalist order and of capitalist discipline of labour makes the re-establishment of production on a capitalist basis impossible. Wage disputes of the workers, even if they are successful, do not bring about the expected amelioration in their condition. The standard of the worker's life can really be raised only when production is controlled not by the bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat itself. In order to raise the productive economic powers, in order to break, at the earliest possible moment, the resistance of the bourgeoisie, which is prolonging the death-struggle of the old social order, and is thus leading to utter ruin, the proletarian dictatorship must carry through the expropriation of the large capitalists and landowners, and transform the means of production and exchange into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born from the wreckage of capitalism. History does not offer mankind any other way of escape. The opportunists who make the Utopian demand for the resuscitation of capitalist economic society, in order to defer socialisation, only prolong the process of dissolution and increase the menace of a total cataclysm. The Communist Revolution, on the contrary, is the best and only means by which the most important productive force—the proletariat, and with it society itself—can be preserved.

Proletarian dictatorship in no way carries with it any kind of distribution of the means of production and exchange. On the contrary, its object is to bring about a greater centralisation of the productive forces and to co-ordinate production as a whole, according to one uniform plan. As the first steps to the socialisation of the entire economic resources the following may be mentioned. The socialisation of the machinery of the great banking institutions which at present control production; the capture through the

government of the proletariat of all the economic institutions managed by the State; the taking over of all municipal enterprises; the socialisation of the syndicates and trusts, as well as such industries where the concentration and centralisation of capital permits it; the socialisation of landed estates and their conversion into socially managed agricultural concerns. As regards the smaller concerns, the proletariat must unite them by degrees, according to their size. But here it must be expressly emphasised that small property will in no way be expropriated, and that proprietors who do not exploit hired labour will not be exposed to any violent measures. This section of the population will be gradually drawn into the Socialist organisation by example and by practice which will demonstrate to it the advantages of the new order—the order which will release the small peasantry and the small urban producer from the economic pressure of usurious capitalists and landlords and from the burden of taxation (especially through the annulment of State debts).

The task of the proletarian dictatorship in the economic sphere can only be fulfilled in proportion as the proletariat is able to create centralised organs for the management of production and to introduce management by the workers. To that end it must necessarily make use of those of its mass-organisations which are most closely bound up with the process of production.

In the domain of distribution, the proletarian dictatorship must replace commerce by a just distribution of products. To attain that the following measures need to be taken: the socialisation of the wholesale businesses; the taking over by the proletariat of the entire State and municipal machinery of distribution; the control of the large co-operative societies, whose organisations will yet play an important economic part in the period of transition; and the gradual centralisation and conversion of all these bodies into one homogeneous whole, carrying out a rational distribution of products.

Both in the sphere of production and in that of distribution, all qualified technicians and experts are to be made use of when their political opposition has been broken and they have learned how to accommodate themselves, not to capitalism, but to the new system of production. The proletariat will not oppress them, but, on the contrary, will give them for the first time the opportunity for unfolding their creative

capacities. The proletarian dictatorship will replace the separation between manual and brain work which capitalism has developed by their combination, and in that way will unite science and labour. Simultaneously with the expropriation of factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalist house owners, and place the large houses at the disposal of the local Workers' Councils, and settle the working class in bourgeois residences.

During this great period of transformation the Soviets must build up, without intermission, the whole apparatus of government in an ever more centralised form, while at the same time directly associating with administration ever larger sections of the labouring population.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY.

The revolutionary epoch demands that the proletariat should employ such fighting methods as will concentrate its entire energy—namely, the method of mass-action—and lead to its logical consequence—the direct collision with the capitalist State-machine in an open combat. All other methods, e.g., revolutionary use of bourgeois Parliamentarism, will in the revolution have only a subordinate value.

The indispensable pre-requisite of such a successful struggle is separation, not only from the actual lackeys of capitalism and the executioners of the Communist Revolution—which is the rôle of the Social-Democrats of the Right—but also from the “Centre” parties (like the Kautskians), which at the critical moment invariably abandon the proletariat in order to compromise with its avowed enemies. On the other hand, a coalition is necessary with those elements of the revolutionary workers' movement who, though they did not previously belong to the Socialist Party, now, on the whole, take up the standpoint of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet system, e.g., some of the sections among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries; the danger of the strangulation

of this revolution by the alliance of capitalist States; the attempt of the Socialist traitors to bind themselves together (the formation of the Yellow “International” at Berne) in order to help the Wilsonian League; and lastly, the absolute necessity of co-ordinating proletarian activities—all this must lead to the establishment of a really revolutionary and really proletarian-Communist International. This International, subordinating as it does so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will embody the mutual aid of the proletarians in the various countries, because without economic and other mutual assistance the proletariat will not be able to organise the new society. On the other hand, international proletarian Communism, in contrast to the Yellow social-patriotic international, will give support to the exploited colonial races in their fight against imperialism, so as to advance the ultimate overthrow of the imperialist world system.

The capitalist criminals asserted at the outbreak of the world war that they were only defending their respective Fatherlands. Soon, however, German imperialism showed by its acts of blood in Russia, in the Ukraine, and in Finland, its real predatory character. At present the Entente Powers, too, stand unmasked as world-bandits and murderers of the proletariat. In company with the German bourgeoisie and with the social-patriots, their lips muttering hypocritical phrases about peace, they are trying, by the aid of their war machines and stupefied barbarian colonial troops, to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat. The White Terror of the bourgeoisie is indescribable; countless are its victims amongst the working classes: Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—their best—have perished. Against this the proletariat must defend itself—defend itself at all cost! The Communist International calls the whole world-proletariat to this, the final struggle!

Down with the imperialist conspiracy of Capital! Long live the International Republic of Proletarian Soviets!

Lenin's Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship.

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement amongst the working classes of all countries has resulted in frantic efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie, and its agents in working-class organisations, to find ideo-political arguments in defence of the dominion of the exploiters. A favourite argument takes the form of the condemnation of dictatorship and the defence of democracy. The deceitfulness and hypocrisy of such an argument, repeated in a thousand ways by the capitalist Press, and re-echoed at the Berne Conference of February, 1919, must be plain to all who refuse to betray the fundamental principles of Socialism.

2. This argument plays with the ideas of "democracy generally" and "dictatorship generally," without reference to the question of class. This non-class, supra-class, and general formulation of the question, constitutes nothing else but a direct insult to the basic principle of Socialism, namely, that doctrine of the class war, which, though recognised verbally, is virtually forgotten in practice by those Socialists who have gone over to the bourgeois camp. In no capitalist country of to-day does there exist a "general democracy," but only a bourgeois democracy; and there is no question of a "general dictatorship," but only of a dictatorship of the oppressed class—that is, the proletariat—over the oppressors and exploiters—that is, the bourgeoisie—with the object of overcoming the resistance offered by the exploiters in the defence of their rule.

3. History teachers us that no oppressed class has ever yet come into power, or could ever do so, without going through a period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquest of political power and the forcible suppression of the most desperate, most furious, most reckless resistance always offered by the exploiters. The bourgeoisie, whose rule is now championed by those Socialists who are opposed to dictatorship, and are ready to die on behalf of "democracy generally," acquired power, in all the foremost countries, by a series of rebellions and civil wars, by violent suppression of absolute monarchy, of the feudal system,

of slave owners, and of their attempts at restoration. Time and again the Socialists of every country have in their books, pamphlets, resolutions at Congresses, and speeches, demonstrated to the people the class character of these bourgeois revolutions. Thus the defence of bourgeois democracy, under the cloak of speeches about "democracy generally," and the outcry against the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the cloak of wailing about "dictatorship generally," are a direct act of treachery against Socialism, a desertion, in effect, to the bourgeois camp, a denial of the proletariat's right to its own proletarian revolution, and a defence of bourgeois reformism, coming at the very moment when bourgeois reformism has collapsed throughout the world, and when the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4. By pointing out the class character of bourgeois civilisation, democracy and parliamentarism, Socialists were expressing the idea explained with the greatest scientific accuracy by Marx and Engels, when they said that the democratic bourgeois Republic was nothing but an apparatus for the oppression of the working class by the bourgeois class, of the working masses by a handful of capitalists. Amongst those who now raise their voices against dictatorship and in defence of democracy, there is not a single revolutionary nor a single Marxist who has not solemnly sworn to the workers that he had recognised that fundamental truth. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is beginning to move, with the object of destroying this apparatus of oppression and of introducing a dictatorship of the proletariat, these traitors to Socialism try to make out that the bourgeoisie has presented the toilers with "pure democracy," has renounced resistance, and is willing to yield to a majority of the workers, just as if the democratic Republic possessed no State apparatus for the oppression of Labour by Capital.

5. The Paris Commune, extolled in words by all who wish to be considered Socialists—since they know that the workers warmly and sincerely

sympathise with it—has very clearly proved the historical limitations and limited worth of bourgeois parliamentarism and democracy, which, although very free institutions in comparison with those of the Middle Ages, must, in these times of proletarian revolution, be subjected to absolutely necessary and fundamental changes. Marx, who best of all interpreted the historical meaning of the Commune, has proved in his analysis the extortionist character of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, under which, once in the course of several years, the oppressed classes are allowed the right to decide what member of the propertied classes shall "represent and crush" (ver und zertreten) the people in Parliament. And now, when the Soviet movement throughout the world is openly continuing the work of the Commune, these traitors to Socialism forget the concrete experiences and concrete lessons of the Paris Commune, and repeat the old middle-class rubbish about "democracy generally." They forget that the Commune was a non-parliamentary institution.

6. The importance of the Commune, further, consists in the effort to break up and destroy the capitalist State machinery of bureaucracy, courts of justice, military and police apparatus, and to replace it by a self-governing mass organisation of workmen, making no distinction between legislative and executive powers. All bourgeois democratic republics of to-day, including the German, which the traitors to Socialism falsely assert to be proletarian, retain this bourgeois State apparatus. This is again a clear and distinct proof that the defence of "democracy" is only another name for the defence of the bourgeoisie and its extortionist privileges.

7. "Freedom of meeting" may be cited as an example of what is demanded by "democracy pure and simple." Every class-conscious workman who has not broken away from his class understands at once that it would be absurd to grant full liberty to hold meetings to the exploiters during the period when those exploiters are resisting their overthrow and defending their privileges. Neither in England in 1649, nor in France in 1793, did the bourgeoisie, in its revolutionary phase, grant liberty to hold meetings to the monarchists and aristocracy, when the latter called in foreign troops and "held meetings" to organise attempts at restoration. And if the bourgeoisie to-day, having long since become reactionary, demands

guarantees in advance from the proletariat to be free to hold meetings, irrespective of what resistance the capitalists may offer against expropriation, the workers will only laugh at the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the workers know full well that even in the most democratic bourgeois Republics "freedom of meeting" is an empty phrase, for not only do the rich enjoy the protection of a powerful State apparatus, but they can also command the best public and private buildings and have more leisure at their disposal. Town and country proletarians, as well as the smaller peasants, have none of these advantages. As long as these conditions continue, "equality," i.e., "democracy pure and simple," is a delusion. In order to win real equality and to realise democracy for the workers in practice, the capitalists must first be deprived of all their public and grand private buildings, the workers must be given leisure, and their freedom to meet should be defended by armed workmen, and not by "the aristocracy" or by capitalist officers in command of brutalised soldiers.

. It is only after such changes have been effected that it will be possible, without insulting the workers, the toilers, the poor, to talk about liberty to hold meetings, about equality. And there is no one to effect these changes but the advance-guard of the toilers—the proletariat—the conqueror of the capitalist exploiters.

8. "Liberty of the Press" is also a much-used catchword of "democracy pure and simple." But once again the workers know, and Socialists in every country have often acknowledged, that this liberty, too, is a delusion as long as the best printing offices and the largest stocks of paper remain in the hands of the capitalists, and as long as capital retains its power over the Press—a power which is always more pronounced, more striking, more cynical, wherever democracy and the Republican regime are most highly developed, as, for instance, in America. Here, again, in order to secure real equality and real democracy for the working masses, the capitalists must be deprived of the power to employ writers in their service, to buy up publishing businesses, and to bribe newspapers. With this aim in view, the yoke of capitalism must be shaken off, the extortioners overthrown, and their resistance crushed. The capitalists have always understood "liberty" to mean liberty

for the rich to make profits, and liberty for the workers to die of starvation; by "Liberty of the Press" they mean liberty for the rich to bribe the Press and to fabricate and inspire so-called public opinion. The defenders of "democracy pure and simple" again reveal themselves in practice as defenders of the lowest and most mercenary system employed by the rich, to control the masses' source of enlightenment; they reveal themselves as deluders of the people, distracting them, by high-sounding and lying phrases, from the carrying out of their historic task of delivering the Press from the hands of capital. Real liberty and equality must be established by Communism, under which there will be no possibility of profiting at the expense of others, no possibility of either directly or indirectly subjecting the Press to the power of money, and where nothing will prevent the workers, individually or in groups, from enjoying and realising in practice equal rights of using the printing offices and stocks of paper belonging to the Community.

9. The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had revealed to us even before the war the true meaning of this famous "democracy pure and simple" under capitalism. Marxists have always maintained that the more developed, the more "pure and simple" democracy is, the more open, the fiercer, the more merciless, is the class war, and the more "pure and simple" is the pressure of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus affair in Republican France; the sanguinary attacks on strikers by soldiers, supplied with arms for the purpose from capitalist sources, in the free and democratic Republic of America: these and thousands of similar instances reveal the truth, which the bourgeoisie tries in vain to conceal, that even in the most democratic Republics there reigns in practice the terrorism and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, showing itself quite openly each time the extortioners imagine that the power of capital is beginning to totter.

10. The imperialistic war of 1914-18 has, once and for all, disclosed to the most backward of workers the true nature of bourgeois democracy, revealing it as nothing less than a capitalist dictatorship, even in the freest Republics. In order that a German or an English group of millionaires might be enriched, millions

of men have been murdered, and the military dictatorship of the capitalist class has been established in the freest Republics. Even after the defeat of Germany, this dictatorship is still kept up in the Entente countries. More than anything else the war has served to open the eyes of the workers, has stripped bourgeois democracy of its sham ornaments, and revealed to all the nations vast abysses of greed and speculation during the war and because of it. The bourgeoisie carried on the war in the name of liberty and equality, and in that same name military contractors have amassed untold riches. No effort on the part of the yellow Berne International will be able to conceal from the masses the plundering character, now definitely unmasked, of bourgeois "liberty," bourgeois "equality," and bourgeois "democracy."

11. In Germany, which, in a capitalistic sense, is the most highly-developed country in Europe, the first months of republican liberty, brought by the destruction of Imperial Germany, showed the German workingman and the whole world which class is actually dominant in the bourgeois democratic Republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was an event of world-historic significance, not only because the best and leading personalities of the real proletarian Communistic International were tragically done to death, but also because the foremost European—one might say without exaggeration the foremost world-State—has revealed its class-foundations to the very roots. If persons under arrest—that is, persons under the protection of the State—can be murdered with impunity by officers and capitalists under a government of social-patriots, then it follows the democratic republic under which such things can happen is, in effect, a bourgeois dictatorship. People who give vent to their indignation at the murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, but who have not grasped this truth, merely display either their own stupidity, or their own hypocrisy. In one of the freest and most advanced Republics in the world, in the German Republic, "freedom" consists in the liberty to kill with impunity the arrested leaders of the proletariat. It will never be otherwise as long as capitalism is dominant, since the development of democracy does not weaken the class struggle, but, on the contrary, aggravates it, until, as the result of the war and

its sequels, it has now reached boiling point.

Throughout the whole civilised world the deportation, persecution, and internment of Bolsheviks is taking place, as, for instance, in Switzerland, one of the freest bourgeois Republics. In America, too, there are even Bolshevik pogroms. From the standpoint of "democracy pure and simple," it is simply ludicrous that civilised, advanced, democratic countries, armed to the teeth, should dread the presence of some few dozens of individuals from backward, starving, ruined Russia, which has been called savage and criminal in thousands of bourgeois papers. It is obvious that a social order which could produce such a crying contradiction is, in effect, a dictatorship of the capitalist class.

12. In such a state of things, proletarian dictatorship is not only fully justified as a means of overthrowing the exploiters and of suppressing their resistance, but is also absolutely necessary for the mass of the workers as the only protection against capitalist dictatorship, which led to the war, and will probably prepare a new war.

The main point which Socialists fail to understand, and which reveals their short-sightedness, their enslavement to bourgeois prejudices, their political treachery towards the proletariat, is that in capitalist society there can be no middle course between capitalist dictatorship and proletariat dictatorship. Any dream of a third course is merely the reactionary lament of the lower-middle classes. This is plainly shown by the experience of the hundred years and more during which bourgeois democracy and the labour movement have been developing in all advanced countries. Especially is it shown by the experiences of the last five years. The entire science of political economy and the whole gist of Marxism are eloquent of this truth, clearly demonstrating the economic necessity of capitalist dictatorship under any system of production for profit—a dictatorship which can only be destroyed by that class which has been developed, increased, paid and strengthened by and with the development of capitalism itself—that is, the proletarian class.

13. The other theoretical and political mistake made by Socialists consists in not understanding that the forms of democracy have inevitably changed in the course of centuries, beginning with its embryo in ancient times, in proportion as one ruling class was replaced by

another. In the republics of ancient Greece, in the mediæval towns, in the most developed capitalist States, democracy has had different forms, and has been of varied extent. It would be folly to assume that the greatest revolution in history, the first transfer of power from the hands of a minority of exploiters to the hands of the impoverished majority, could take place within the framework of the old bourgeois Parliamentary democracy, without the most abrupt changes, or the creation of new forms and institutions for democracy, embodying the new social conditions of its existence.

14. Proletarian dictatorship is like the dictatorship of other classes in that it arises from the necessity of suppressing the armed resistance of the class that loses its political supremacy. The fundamental difference between proletarian dictatorship and that of other classes, such as the dictatorship of the great landowners of the Middle Ages and that of the capitalist class in all civilised capitalist countries is simply that the two last-named dictatorships were a forcible suppression of the resistance of the majority of the population, the working masses, whereas proletarian dictatorship is a forcible suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, i.e., of an insignificant minority of the population—the landlords and capitalists. Hence it follows that proletarian dictatorship must inevitably bring with it not only a change in the forms and institutions of democracy, generally speaking, but also precisely such a change as will bring a hitherto undreamt-of extension *in practice* of the use made of democracy by those who have been oppressed by capitalism, i.e., by the working classes.

And, in fact, those forms of proletarian dictatorship already worked out in practice, e.g., the Soviet power in Russia, the Räte system in Germany, the Shop Stewards' Committees and similar Soviet institutions in other countries, all signify, and *in practice* realise, for the working classes, i.e., for the enormous majority of the population, the practical possibility of democratic liberty and privileges to an extent never before known, even approximately, in the best democratic bourgeois Republics.

The essence of the Soviet power consists in the fact that the continuous and unique basis of all State machinery and public authority is constituted by the mass organisations of exactly those classes which were oppressed by capitalism

—the workers and semi-proletarians, peasants not exploiting hired labour and forced to sell at least a fraction of their own labour-power. These very masses, which even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, though enjoying equal rights in law, are still kept *in practice* from all participation in political life and from the enjoyment of all democratic liberties and rights—are now brought into permanent, unavoidable, and, therefore, decisive, touch with the democratic administration of the State.

15. The equality of all citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, race, or nationality, which was always and everywhere promised, but never carried out, by bourgeois democracy, and indeed never could be carried out under capitalism, is immediately and amply realised by the Soviet power, or, in other words, by proletarian dictatorship. Only the dictatorship of the workers can achieve this equality, because they have no private property interest either in production or in the struggle for distribution and redistribution.

16. The old bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system, were so organised as to keep the working classes at the greatest distance from the administrative machinery. But the Soviet power, i.e., proletarian dictatorship, on the contrary, is so organised that it brings the masses of the working class in close touch with the administration. The same purpose is attained by the amalgamation of the legislative and executive functions under the Soviet organisation of the State, and by substituting industrial units, such as works and factories, for territorial constituencies.

17. Not only under the monarchy, but even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, the army was an organ for oppression. Only Soviet Government, as the established State organisation of the classes oppressed by capitalism, is capable of abolishing the dependence of the army on bourgeois leadership, and of really amalgamating the proletariat with the army, of arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, without which conditions the victory of Socialism would be impossible.

18. The Soviet organisation of the State is adapted for the leading part played by the proletariat as the class which has been most concentrated and united by capitalism. Experience gained from all revolutions and all movements of the enslaved classes, the experience of the world Socialist movement, teaches us that it is only the

proletariat that is able to unite and carry with it the scattered and backward sections of the toiling and exploited population.

19. Only the Soviet organisation of the State is able completely to break up and destroy the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic, and judicial apparatus which, under capitalism, existed, and was bound to exist, in the most democratic Republics, and formed for the masses of the workers the greatest practical obstacle in the way of realising democracy. The Paris Commune took the first historic step along this path; the Soviet has taken the second.

20. The annihilation of the power of the State is the aim all Socialists have had in view, first and foremost amongst them Marx. Without the realisation of this aim, true democracy, that is, liberty and equality, is unattainable. It can only be achieved by the Soviet or proletarian democracy, for this system prepares at the very outset for the "withering away" of any form of the State by bringing forward the mass organisations of the working people into a constant and absolute participation in State administration.

21. The complete bankruptcy, the complete failure of the Socialists assembled at Berne to understand the new, i.e., proletarian democracy, is especially manifested by the following incident. On February 10, 1919, M. Branting stated at Berne that the Conference of the Yellow International was at an end. On February 11, its members in Berlin published in *Die Freiheit* an appeal from the Independents to the proletariat. In this appeal the bourgeois character of the Scheidemann Government is admitted; it is reproached with wishing to abolish the Soviets, which are called "Träger und Schützer der Revolution" (the supporters and protectors of the revolution); and a proposal is made to legalise them, to give them State powers, to give them a suspensive veto against the decisions of the National Assembly, and the power to take a referendum.

Such a proposal as this proves the utter mental bankruptcy of the theorists who defended democracy and failed to understand its bourgeois character. The absurd attempt to combine the Soviet system, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the Constituent Assembly or dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, discloses the spiritual poverty of the Yellow Socialists and Social-Democrats, their middle-class reactionary

mentality, and their cowardly concessions to the irresistibly growing power of the new proletarian democracy.

22. The majority of the Yellow International at Berne, who condemned Bolshevism, but, dreading the mass of the workers, dared not formally vote for a condemnatory resolution, has acted quite correctly from the class standpoint. That majority is in complete agreement with the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries and the Scheidemann party in Germany. The Russian Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, who complain of being persecuted by the Bolsheviks, seek to conceal the fact that the persecutions are due to their taking part in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. In Germany, in precisely the same way, the Scheidemann party has joined in the civil war on the side of the bourgeoisie, i.e., against the working men.

It is therefore only natural that the majority of the participants in the Berne International should have voiced their condemnation of the Bolsheviks. In this was expressed, not the defence of "democracy pure and simple," but the self-defence of men who know that, in the civil war, they are on the side of the capitalist against the proletariat.

Seen from the standpoint of class, the decision arrived at by the majority is quite justified: but the proletariat ought not to be intimidated by this fact, but rather face it openly and meet the consequences.

On the basis of these theses and reports from representatives of widely different countries, the Congress of the Communist International declares the chief task of the Communist Parties, in countries where the Soviet system does not yet exist, to be as follows:

(1) To enlighten the working classes as to the historical significance of the political and practical necessity of creating a new proletarian democracy to take the place of bourgeois democracy and Parliamentarianism.

(2) To spread and extend the Soviet system in all industrial concerns, in the army and navy, as well as amongst the workers on the land and smaller peasants; and

(3) To secure a firm, reliable Communist majority in the Soviet.

N. LENIN.

Resolution on the Attitude towards the "Socialist" Parties and Berne Conference.

Drawn up and Moved by Comrades G. Zinoviev and F. Platten, and Passed by the Congress.

I.

As early as 1907, at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, when the Second International discussed the question of colonial policy and imperialistic war, the fact was revealed that more than half of the Second International, and the greater part of its leaders, was much nearer the opinions of the bourgeoisie on these subjects than the Communist point of view of Marx and Engels.

Still, the Stuttgart Congress passed a resolution moved by the representatives of the revolutionary wing, N. Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, as follows:

"Should a war break out, it is the duty of all Socialists to interfere towards its immediate ending, and to exploit by all possible means the economic and political crisis created by the war in order to stir up the people and thus precipitate the downfall of capitalist rule."

At the Basel Congress in 1912, at the time of the Balkan war, the Second International declared :

" The bourgeois governments should remember that the Franco-German War resulted in the revolutionary rising of the Paris Commune, and that the Russo-Japanese War set the revolutionary forces of Russia into motion. The workers consider it a crime to shoot at one another for the sake of capitalist profits, dynastic competition, and the flourishing of diplomatic contracts."

At the end of July and the beginning of August, 1914, twenty-four hours before the outbreak of war, the leading organs and institutions of the Second International continued to denounce the approaching war as a heinous crime of the bourgeoisie. The declarations of the leading parties of the Second International relating to those memorable days constitute the most eloquent indictment against the leaders of that Second International.

At the first shot that was fired on the field of imperialist slaughter, the principal parties of the Second International betrayed the working class, and went over, under the cloak of "home defence," each to the side of its own bourgeoisie. Scheidemann and Ebert in Germany, Thomas and Renaudel in France, Henderson and Hyndman in England, Vandervelde and De Brouckère in Belgium, Renner and Pernerstorfer in Austria, Plekhanov and Rubanovich in Russia, Branting and his party in Sweden, Gompers and his followers in the United States, Mussolini and Co. in Italy, summoned the proletariat to conclude a "truce of God" with the bourgeoisie of "their" country, to desist from the "war against war" and to become "food for powder" for the interests of the imperialists.

This was the moment of the final failure and end of the Second International.

The bourgeoisie of the wealthiest countries, owing to the general course of economic evolution, had the means to bribe and corrupt, by crumbs out of its enormous profits, the heads of the working class, the labour aristocracy. The petty-bourgeois hangers-on of Socialism poured into the ranks of the official Social-Democratic parties, and gradually changed the course of their policy in a bourgeois direction. The leaders of the peaceable Parliamentary Labour movement, the heads of Trade Unions, the editors, party secretaries and officials of

Social-Democracy, formed a bureaucratic caste possessing its own selfish and limited interests, and inimical, in substance, to real Socialism.

Owing to these circumstances, official Social Democracy degenerated into an anti-Socialistic chauvinistic party.

Already before the war three different fundamental currents could be observed within the Second International. During the war, before the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in Europe, the outlines of these three currents were revealed with perfect clearness :

(1) The social-chauvinistic current ("majority" current) typically represented by those German Social-Democrats who now share power with the bourgeoisie and have turned murderers of the leaders of the Communist International, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

The social-chauvinists have proved themselves to be the class enemies of the proletariat, and pursue a programme of "liquidating" the war inspired by the bourgeoisie : that is, of throwing the chief weight of taxes on to the shoulders of the working class, acknowledgment of the inviolability of private property, leaving the army in the hands of the bourgeoisie, dissolution of the workers' councils that are forming everywhere, leaving political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—in short, bourgeois democracy against Socialism.

In spite of the sharpest struggle on the part of the Communists against the "majority" Social-Democrats, the workers have not yet fully realised the danger that, through these traitors, menaces the international proletariat. To open the eyes of all workers to the Judas' work of the social-chauvinists, and to prevent this counter-revolutionary party by main force from doing further harm, is one of the foremost tasks of the international proletarian revolution.

(2) The "centre" current (social-pacifists, Kautskians, Independents). This current began to shape itself before the war chiefly in Germany. At the outbreak of the war, the "centre" nearly everywhere was, in the main issues, of one opinion with the social-chauvinists. The theoretician and leader of the "centre," Kautsky, stood up in defence of the policy pursued by the German and French social-chauvinists. The International is but an "instrument of peace"—"war for peace," "class struggle in peace time"—such was the parole given by Kautsky.

The "centre," from the beginning of the war, insisted on "unity" with the social-chauvinists. After the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the "centre" continues to preach the same "unity"—that is, the unity of the worker-Communists with the murderers of the Communist leaders, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

As early as the beginning of the war, the "centre" (Kautsky, Victor Adler, Turati, MacDonald) began to preach a "mutual amnesty" that was supposed to apply to the leaders of the social-chauvinist parties of Germany and Austria on one side, and of France and Britain on the other. This "amnesty" is still advocated by the "centre" even at the present moment, after the ending of the war; thereby preventing the workers from clearly seeing the reasons of the collapse of the Second International.

The "centre" sent its delegates to Berne to the international conference of the compromise-Socialists, and thereby made it easier for the Scheidemann and Renaudel type to deceive the working men.

It is absolutely imperative to separate the more revolutionary elements from the "centre." This is possible only through merciless criticism and unsparing exposure of the "centre" leaders. Rupture in organisation with the "centre" is an absolute historic necessity. The determination of the precise moment of this rupture, according to the maturity the movement has attained in the respective country, is the task of the Communists of the several countries.

(3) The Communists. In the Second International, where this fraction advocated the Communist-Marxist opinions on war and the mission of the proletariat, it remained in the minority (Stuttgart, 1907, the Lenin-Luxemburg resolution). The "Left Radical" group (later Spartacus group) in Germany, the "Bolshevik" Party in Russia, the "Tribunists" in Holland, the "Young" group in Sweden, the Left Wing of the International of Youth in various countries, composed the first nucleus of the new International.

True to the interests of the working class, this group, from the very beginning of the war, propagated the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war. This group is now constituted as the Third International.

II.

The Berne Socialist Conference in February, 1919, was an attempt to galvanise the corpse of the Second International into life.

The composition of the Berne conference obviously shows that the revolutionary proletariat of the world had nothing in common with this conference.

The victorious Russian proletariat, the heroic German proletariat, the Italian proletariat, the Communist part of the Austrian and Hungarian proletariat, the proletariat of Switzerland, of Bulgaria, Rumania and Serbia, the left wing of the Labour Parties of Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Ukrainian, Lettish, Polish proletariat, the best part of the organised proletariat of England, the International of Youth and the Women's International, have ostentatiously refused to participate in the Conference of Berne.

Those members of the Berne Conference who to a certain degree still keep contact with the real Labour movement of our time, formed an opposition group, that stood up against the doings of the social-patriots at least in the matter of the principal question—the attitude towards the Russian revolution. The declaration of the French comrade Loriot, who stigmatised the majority of the Berne Conference as instruments of the bourgeoisie, is the real opinion of all the class-conscious workers of the world.

In the so-called "question of guilt," the Berne Conference kept within the limits of bourgeois ideology. The German and French social-patriots mutually reproached each other with exactly the accusations which the German and French bourgeoisie had hurled against each other. The Berne Conference lost itself in discussions of petty details as to this or that action of the respective bourgeois statesmen before the war, and would not see that the chief criminals guilty of the war are capitalism, the financial capital of both coalitions, and their social-patriotic lackeys. The Berne social-patriotic majority wanted to find the chief criminal. They would only have had to glance at their mirror to see him.

The declaration of the Berne Conference on the territorial question is full of ambiguities. It is this very ambiguity that the bourgeoisie needs. The most reactionary representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie, M. Clemenceau, acknowledged the good services done to imperialist

reaction by the Berne social-patriot conference, by receiving a delegation of the same and inviting it into all the respective committees of the Paris imperialist conference.

In the matter of the colonial question, it was patently revealed that the Berne Conference navigates in the track of those liberal bourgeois politicians who hold the exploitation and domination of the colonies by the imperialist bourgeoisie to be justified, and only seek to plaster it over with humanitarian-philanthropic phrases. The German Socialists demanded the restoration of the German colonies—in other words, the further exploitation of those colonies by German capital. The discord that sprang up on this occasion proves that the social-patriots of the Entente are no less slave-drivers, and regard the continued subjection of the French and English colonies to home capital as a matter of course. So the Berne Conference showed that it had thoroughly forgotten the watchword, "Away from the colonies!"

In the appreciation of the "League of Nations," the Berne Conference showed that it treads in the footsteps of those bourgeois elements who hope to stop the growing universal proletarian revolution by the empty moonshine of the so-called "League of Nations." Instead of exposing the doings of the Paris Conference of the Allies as the haggling of a band of robbers, the Berne Conference stooped to being its tool and support.

The submissive attitude of the Berne Conference, which left the question of international labour legislation to the decision of the Paris

Conference of bourgeois Governments, shows that the social-patriots consciously advocate the preservation of capitalist wage-slavery, and are ready to allow the working class to be put off with petty reforms.

The attempt—inspired by the policy of the bourgeoisie—to force a resolution of the Berne Conference that would cover armed intervention in Russian affairs, failed only owing to the efforts of the opposition. In this victory of the Berne opposition over the flatly chauvinist elements, we see indirect proofs of the sympathy of the West European proletariat with the Russian proletarian revolution, and of its readiness to take up arms against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

How deeply these lackeys of the bourgeoisie dread the inevitable spreading of workers' councils is shown by their anxious avoidance of ever so slight a reference to this phenomenon of world-historical significance.

The workers' councils are the most important phenomena since the Paris Commune. By the fact of ignoring them, the Berne Conference has patently manifested its intellectual narrow-mindedness, its theoretical bankruptcy.

The Congress of the Communist International considers the International which the Berne Conference endeavours to regenerate to be a Yellow, strike-breaking International, that is and remains an instrument of the bourgeoisie only.

The Congress summons the workers of all countries to take up the most energetic struggle against the Yellow International, and to preserve the broad masses of the people from this "International" of falsehood and deceit.

Theses on the International Situation and the Policy of the Entente.

Drawn up and Moved by Comrade Ossinsky, and Passed by the Congress.

THE experience of the imperialist world-war has facilitated the unmasking of the imperialist policy of the bourgeois "democracies" as a war of Trust-States, for the division of the world and for the strengthening of the economic and political dictatorship of financial capital over the

exploited and oppressed masses. The slaughter or crippling of millions of people, the enslavement of the proletariat, the destruction of the middle class, the unprecedented enrichment of the upper sections of the capitalist class as a result of contracts, loans, etc., the triumph of

militarist reaction in all countries—these have begun to dissipate the illusions of national defence, of civil unity and of “democracy.” The politics of peacemaking, revealing the true aims of the imperialists of all countries, are bringing this scattering of illusions to its fullest accomplishment.

THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE AND THE UNMASKING OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM.

The Brest-Litovsk peace, and, following it, that of Bucharest, revealed the predatory and reactionary character of the imperialism of the Central Powers. The conquerors secured annexations and indemnities from defenceless Russia. They converted the principle of the self-determination of nations into the fig-leaf of a policy of annexations, by creating vassal States, whose reactionary governments assisted the policy of robbery and crushed the revolutionary activity of the labouring masses. German imperialism, which had not won a complete victory in the international struggle, had not at that time the occasion to reveal its true intentions in all their nakedness, and was forced to live in a bad peace with Soviet Russia, cloaking its plundering and reactionary policy by hypocritical phrases.

The Powers of the Entente, having won the final victory, have thrown off all masks, and have openly disclosed the real features of world imperialism.

THE VICTORY OF THE ENTENTE AND THE GROUPING OF THE STATES.

The victory of the Entente Powers has divided the so-called civilised countries of the world into several groups. The first of these is composed of the rulers of the capitalist world, the triumphant imperialist Great Powers (England, America, France, Japan, Italy). Opposed to them are the countries of conquered imperialism, broken by the war and undermined by the beginning of the proletarian revolution (Germany, Austria-Hungary, with their former subject States). The vassal States of the Entente Powers form the third group. This is constituted by, first, the smaller capitalist States which entered the war on the side of the Entente (Belgium, Serbia, Portugal, etc.), and, secondly, the newly-created national Republics and buffer States (Czecho-Slovak Republic, Poland, the Russian White

Guard Republics, etc.) The neutral States are approaching the position of the vassals, but are experiencing a strong economic and political pressure which frequently approximates their position to that of the conquered. The Russian Socialist Republic is a workers’ and peasants’ State standing outside the boundaries of the capitalist world, and constituting a gigantic social threat to victorious imperialism—the threat of the destruction of all the fruits of victory under the pressure of world-revolution.

THE “PEACE POLICY” OF ALLIED IMPERIALISM AND ITS SELF-UNMASKING.

“The peace policy” of the five great masters of the world—the Entente Powers—has been and remains, viewed as a whole, a policy of continuous self-unmasking.

In violent contradiction to all phrases about “a democratic foreign policy,” it has given a complete victory to secret diplomacy, which decides the fate of the world by means of arrangements between the plenipotentiaries of the financial trusts, behind the back and at the expense of the labouring millions of all countries. All vital questions without exception are decided at Paris by a committee of the five Powers, in secret session, and in the absence of representatives of the conquered, neutral, and even vassal States.

The necessity of annexations and indemnities at the expense of the defeated countries has been openly proclaimed and definitely accepted in the speeches of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Sonnino, and others.

Just as openly, in spite of empty phrases about “a war for general disarmament,” has been proclaimed the necessity for further armaments and for the conservation in particular of the British naval supremacy—in the interests of the so-called “freedom of the seas.”

The principle of the self-determination of nations formulated by the Entente is openly trodden underfoot, and just as openly replaced by a division of the disputed territories amongst the dominating and vassal States. Alsace-Lorraine has been united to France without any consultation of the population. Ireland, India, and Egypt have been deprived of the right of self-determination; the Jugo-Slav monarchy and the Czecho-Slovak Republic have been created by sheer violence; the most shameless bargaining

is going on about the partition of European and Asiatic Turkey; the distribution of the German colonies has begun; and so on.

The policy of indemnities has reached the stage of complete spoliation of the vanquished. The latter are not only presented with financial demands amounting to many millions: they are not merely deprived of all war material. The Entente countries deprive them of steam engines, trucks, ships, agricultural implements, gold reserves, etc.; and to this is added the transformation of prisoners of war into slaves of the victors. Projects are being advanced for the imposition of serfdom upon the German workers, whom the Entente Powers desire to make the penniless and starving slaves of Allied capitalism.

A policy of extreme nationalist jingoism expresses itself in a ceaseless campaign against the defeated nations by the Allied Press, the armies of occupation, and the hunger blockade, which condemns the peoples of Germany and Austria to extinction... This policy leads to German pogroms amongst the satellites of the Entente—the Czech and Polish chauvinists—and also to massacres of the Jews, which surpass in thoroughness all the exploits of Russian Tsarism.

The "democratic" countries of the Entente are carrying out a policy of extreme reaction.

Reaction is triumphant both in the Entente countries themselves—amongst whom the condition of France in particular recalls the very worst periods of the rule of Napoleon III.—and also throughout that part of the capitalist world which is under the influence of the Entente. The Allies are throttling the revolution in the occupied regions of Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc., and are inciting the bourgeois opportunist governments of the defeated countries against the revolutionary workers by threatening to deprive them of food. The Allies have announced the sinking of the German ships which dared to raise the Red Flag of revolution; they have refused to recognise the German Soviets; they have abolished the eight-hour working day in the occupied districts of Germany. Besides giving direct support to reaction in neutral countries and forcibly setting it up in vassal States (e.g., the Paderewsky regime in Poland), they are mobilising the reactionary forces of these countries (in Finland, Poland, Sweden, and elsewhere) against revolutionary Russia, and are

exacting the employment in this cause of German troops also.

DIFFERENCES AMONG THE ENTENTE POWERS.

Amongst the Great Powers dominating capitalist society, a series of profound differences is showing itself in spite of the apparent harmony of the fundamental principles of their various imperialist policies.

These differences are chiefly accentuated in connection with the world-programme of American financial capitalism (the so-called Wilson programme). The main points of this programme are: "The freedom of the seas," "the League of Nations," and "the internationalisation of colonies." The principle of "freedom of the seas"—if it is divested of its hypocritical outer-covering—means in practice the abolition of the naval supremacy of individual Great Powers (first and foremost, of England), and the opening of all sea routes to American trade. "The League of Nations" means that the European Great Powers (first and foremost, France) are deprived of the right of subordinating directly or uniting with themselves the weaker States and peoples. "Internationalisation of colonies" sets up the same principle in the case of colonial territories.

The origin of this programme is due to the fact that American capitalism, not possessing the largest fleet in the world, is not able to effect direct annexations in Europe, and therefore strives to exploit the weaker States and peoples by means of commercial intercourse and investment of its capital. Consequently American capitalism wishes to force the other Powers to form a syndicate of Trust-States for the purpose of "justly" apportioning each one's share in world-exploitation; thus transforming the political struggle between the Trust-States into a purely economic struggle. In the arena of economic exploitation, the highly-developed financial capitalism of America expects to win practical leadership, and thus to guarantee for itself the economic and political supremacy of the world.

"Freedom of the seas" is in violent antagonism to the interests of England, Japan, and, to a certain extent, Italy (in the Adriatic Sea). "The League of Nations" and the internationalisation of colonies are schemes profoundly opposed to the interests of France and Japan—

—in a lesser degree to those of the other imperialist Powers. In France, where financial capital is saturated with the spirit of money-lending, where industry is feebly developed, where productive forces have been completely ruined by the war, the policy of the imperialists is directed towards the support of the capitalist order by the most desperate methods—the barbarous plundering of Germany, the direct subjection and piratical exploitation of vassal States (e.g., the "Danubian League" project, the Jugo-Slav State, etc.), and the forcible extortion from the Russian people of the loans which Russian Tsarism contracted with the French Shylocks. France, Italy, and, in a different way, Japan, can also, in virtue of being continental Powers, follow a policy of direct annexation.

While all are inimical to America, the Great Powers at one and the same time are opposed to one another. England fears the strengthening of France on the Continent, British interests in Asia Minor and Africa are antagonistic to those of France, Italian interests in the Balkan Peninsula and Tyrol are in antagonism to those of France, Japan is at variance with Anglo-Saxon Australia over the Pacific Islands, and so on.

ALLIANCES AND TENDENCIES IN THE ENTENTE RANKS.

These differences between the Great Powers lead to the formation of different combinations in the ranks of the Entente. Two main groupings have already been noticeable: *France-England-Japan*, directed against America and Italy, and *England-America*, against the other great Powers. The first combination was predominant until the beginning of January, 1919, when President Wilson abandoned his demands for the abolition of British naval supremacy. The development of a revolutionary movement amongst the English workers and soldiers, which is driving the imperialists of several countries towards a mutual agreement, a liquidation of the Russian adventure, and a speedy conclusion of peace, increases the partiality of England for the second combination, which has become the predominating fact since January, 1919. The Anglo-American bloc is struggling against the exclusive right of France to rob Germany, and against the unchecked exercise of that right. It is limiting the boundless annexationist demands of France, Italy, and Japan. It is preventing

them from subjecting to themselves directly the newly-created vassal States. On the question of Russia, its attitude is more peaceable: it wishes to free its hand in order to complete the division of the world and throttle the European revolution, so that finally it can crush the Russian revolution as well.

These two combinations correspond to two tendencies in the heart of the greatest Powers—one of extreme annexationism, the other more moderate—of which tendencies the Wilson-Lloyd George alliance supports the latter.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

In view of the irreconcilable differences that have made their appearance amongst the Entente Powers, the "League of Nations," if it is realised on paper, will mean only a holy alliance of capitalists to crush the workers' revolution. At the same time the "League of Nations" propaganda is the best way of confusing the revolutionary consciousness of the working class, substituting as it does for the idea of an International of revolutionary Labour Republics the idea of an international union of sham democracies, attainable through a coalition of the proletariat with the capitalist classes.

The "League of Nations" plays the part of a false ideal by means of which the social-traitors, on behalf of international capitalism, can divide the forces of the proletariat and assist the imperialist counter-revolution.

The revolutionary workers of the whole world must carry on an uncompromising struggle with the Wilsonian idea of "the League of Nations," and must protest against entry into this league of robbery, exploitation, and imperialist counter-revolution.

THE FOREIGN AND INTERNAL POLICY OF THE DEFEATED STATES.

The military destruction and internal collapse of Austro-German imperialism have led, in the first stages of the revolution, to a supremacy of bourgeois-opportunist "Socialism" in the Central Empires. In the name of democracy and Socialism, the German social-traitors are, at home, guarding and restoring the economic supremacy and political dictatorship of the capitalist class, and, abroad, striving to set German imperialism on its feet again by insisting on the return of the colonies and by demanding the admission of Germany into the robber

"League of Nations." In proportion to the strengthening of the White Guards in Germany and the growing disruption in the Entente camp, the "Great Power" aspirations of the German capitalists and social-traitors are developing. At the same time, by carrying out the counter-revolutionary instructions of the Entente and, in some measure, by inciting the German workers against the Russian labour revolution for the benefit of the Entente, the bourgeois-opportunist Governments are undermining the international solidarity of the proletariat, and isolating its German detachment from the other fellow detachments. The policy of the capitalists and opportunist Socialists in Austria and Hungary is a repetition, in a less marked form, of the policy of the bourgeois-opportunist bloc in Germany.

THE VASSAL STATES OF THE ENTENTE.

In the vassal States, and in those newly set up by the Entente (Czecho-Slovakia, the Jugo-Slav kingdom, Poland, Finland, etc.), the policy of Allied imperialism relies upon the ruling classes and social-nationalists to create centres of nationalistic counter-revolutionary activity. This activity is to be directed against the defeated countries; it is to maintain a balance of power by creating mutual conflicts between the new States and is to keep them in dependence upon the Entente; it is to serve as a check upon the revolutionary movement developing in the heart of the new "national" Republics; finally, it is intended to create White Guard cadres for the struggle with the international revolution, and, in particular, the Russian revolution.

As to Belgium, Portugal, Greece, and other similar small States connected with the Entente, their policy is determined entirely by that of the greater bandits, on whom they are in complete dependence; and on whom they rely for help in securing less important annexations and indemnities.

THE NEUTRAL STATES.

The position of the neutral States approximates to that of the non-privileged vassals of Allied imperialism; the Entente treats them almost the same as it does the vanquished. A few who enjoy the good favour of the Entente see the opportunity to make various demands of the defeated States (e.g., the Danish claims to Flensburg, the Swiss demand for international-

isation of the Rhine, and so on). At the same time they carry on the counter-revolutionary rôle entrusted to them (e.g., the expulsion of the Russian embassies, the recruiting of White Guards in the Scandinavian countries, etc.). The others are threatened with territorial dismemberment (e.g., the project for uniting Dutch Limburg with Belgium and internationalising the mouth of the Scheldt).

THE ENTENTE AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

In its attitude towards Soviet Russia, the rapacious, jingoist, and reactionary character of Allied imperialism shows itself most clearly of all. From the first day of November revolution, the Entente Powers took up their stand on the side of the counter-revolutionary parties and governments of Russia. Supported by the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries, they seized Siberia, the Urals, the coasts of European Russia, the Caucasus, and part of Turkestan. From the occupied territories the Allies have been, and are still, exporting raw material (timber, petroleum, manganese, etc.). With the help of hired Czecho-Slovak bands they succeeded in stealing the gold reserve of the Russian State. French and English spies, under the direction of the British diplomat, Lockhart, contrived to destroy bridges, railways and trains for the purpose of interrupting the provisioning of the country. The Allies have supported with money, munitions, and military aid the reactionary generals, Denikin, Kolchak, and Krasnov, who hanged and shot thousands of workmen and peasants at Rostov, Yuzovka, Novorossiisk, Omsk, and elsewhere.

Through the mouths of Clemenceau and Pichon, the Allies have openly proclaimed the principle of "economic encirclement," i.e., of the destruction by starvation of the revolutionary Republic of workmen and peasants, and they have promised "technical assistance" to the bands of Denikin, Kolchak, and Krasnov.

The Allies have consistently refused to accept the repeated peace proposals of the Soviet Republic.

On January 23, 1919, the Entente Powers, in whose midst at that time the more moderate tendency had the upper hand, addressed a request to all the Russian Governments to send representatives to the island of Prinkipo. This proposal undoubtedly concealed a provocative

attitude towards the Soviet Government. However, in spite of the fact that on February 4 the Entente received a reply in the affirmative from the Soviet Government—a reply in which the latter declared its readiness to offer the Allies annexations, indemnities, and concessions, for the sake of freeing the Russian workers and peasants from the war into which the Entente had dragged them—the Entente left even this peace proposal of Soviet Russia unanswered.

This shows that the annexationist—reactionary elements in the camp of the Allied imperialists have a firm footing. They are threatening the Socialist Republic with new annexations and counter-revolutionary attacks.

The “peace policy” of the Entente is finally disclosing to the eyes of the international working class the true nature of Allied imperialism, and of all imperialism in general. At the same time it is proving that imperialist governments are not capable of concluding a just and lasting peace, and that financial capital is not capable of rebuilding the shattered economic order. The further supremacy of financial capital would lead either to the complete annihilation of civilised society or to an unprecedented development of exploitation, enslavement, political reaction, and militarist armament, leading in the end to new destructive wars.

N. OSSINSKY.

Resolution on the White Terror.

Drawn up and Moved by Comrade Sirola, and Passed by the Congress.

FROM the very outset, the capitalist system was own country, and the revolutionary Kiel sailors were the first victims of its frenzy. Russian soldiers were shot in France because they refused to fight for the profits of French bankers. In the United States, internationalists were lynched by the bourgeoisie: hundreds of the best men of the proletariat were sentenced to twenty years' hard labour, and workmen were shot for having struck work.

As the imperialist war began to change into civil war, and the ruling classes, those vilest criminals known to the history of humanity, saw the end of their bloody rule approaching, their bestial cruelty waxed all the more savage.

In the struggle for the conservation of capitalist rule, the bourgeoisie had recourse to the most unheard-of methods, methods surpassing in cruelty the horrors of the middle ages, the Spanish Inquisition, and colonial exploitation.

Standing on the brink of its grave, and by its “white terror” attempting at the last physically to annihilate the working class, that main productive force of human society, the middle class has shown itself in its full and fulsome nakedness.

Russian generals, living incarnations of the old Tsarist regime, organised, and continue to

organise, wholesale massacres of working men with the direct or indirect support of the social traitors. In the era of Social-Revolutionary and Menshevik rule in Russia, thousands of working men and peasants filled the prisons, and whole regiments were exterminated for insubordination by their generals. At the present moment, Krasnov and Denikin, who enjoy the condescending patronage of the Allies, are shooting and hanging working men, "decimating" them, leaving the dead bodies on the gallows for days, "as a warning example" to their fellows.

In the Ural and on the Volga, the Czechoslovak White Guard bands cut off the hands and feet of their prisoners, drowned them in the Volga, buried them alive. In Siberia, the generals put thousands of Communists to death, and exterminated countless numbers of workmen and peasants.

The German and Austrian bourgeoisie fully revealed their savagery in the Ukraine, where they hung the workmen and peasants plundered by them, hung Communists, hung their own fellow-countrymen, our German and Austrian comrades, on *transportable iron gallows*. They helped the Finnish bourgeoisie in Finland—a country of bourgeois democracy—to fusillade fourteen thousand proletarians, and torment to death in their prisons over fifteen thousand more. In Helsingfors they used the wives and children of workers as a cover against machine-gun fire. It was owing to their support and co-operation that the Finnish White Guards and their Swedish accomplices succeeded in celebrating a bloody orgy over the vanquished Finnish proletariat: in Tammerfors women and children, sentenced to death, were forced to dig their own graves. In Vyborg, Russian men, women and children were exterminated by thousands.

The reactionary fury of the German bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats attained its culmination in the bloody suppression of the Com-

unist proletarian rising, in the bestial murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, in the massacre and extermination of Spartacist workmen. Wholesale and individual white terror is the banner round which the bourgeoisie rallies.

In other countries we see the very same picture. In democratic Switzerland all measures are taken to make short work of the working men in case of their venturing to lift their hands against capitalist law. In the United States, gaol, Judge Lynch, and the electric chair appear as the chosen symbols of democracy and liberty.

In Hungary and England, in Bohemia and Poland—everywhere it is one and the same. There is no crime too heinous for the bourgeois assassins. To cement their rule, they stir up chauvinism and organise, as the Ukrainian bourgeois democracy with the Menshevik Petliura, the Polish with the social-patriot Pilsudsky at its head, monstrous Jewish pogroms surpassing by far those organised by the police of the Tsar. And when the Polish reactionary and "Socialist" rabble murdered the delegates of the Russian Red Cross, they added but a drop to the ocean of the crimes and atrocities committed by expiring bourgeois savagery. The "League of Nations" that, according to the protestations of its authors, is to bring eternal peace, wages bloody war against the proletariat of all countries. The Allied Powers with their black bands, wishing to save their rule, have deliberately stepped on to the path of incredibly ruthless terror.

The First Congress of the Communist International calls down a malediction upon the head of capitalist murderers and their Social-Democratic accomplices, and summons the workers of all countries to do their utmost towards the final abolition of this system of murder and robbery by overthrowing the power of capitalism.

Resolution on the Necessity of the Co-operation of Proletarian Women in the Struggle for Socialism.

THE Congress of the Communist International recognises that the realisation of all the tasks it sets itself, as well as the ultimate victory of the

world proletariat and the complete abolition of the capitalist system, can be attained only by the closely-united common effort of the men and women of the working class.

The enormously growing employment of female labour in all branches of economy, the fact that no less than half of all existing values are produced by women's hands: on the other hand, the recognition of the important part pro-

letarian women play in the construction of the new Communist social order, particularly in the transition to Communist domestic life, in the reform of the family as an institution, and the realisation of a Socialist education of children, destined to produce able and single-minded citizens of the Soviet Republics—all these considerations make the following the urgent task of all parties adhering to the Communist International: to exert all their energy towards the winning of proletarian women for those parties, and towards the education of working women in the spirit of the new social order and of Communistic ethics in society and the family.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can be realised and maintained only through the active and energetic participation of the women of the working class.

Motion to Constitute the Third International.

THE representatives of the Communist Party of Germany, the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, the Social-Democratic revolutionary labour confederation of the Balkans, the Communist Party of Hungary, move the foundation of the Communist International.

1. The necessity of fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a united, close-banded international organisation of all Communist elements standing on that platform.

2. The founding of such a centre is our duty all the more as at the present moment, in Berne and possibly later in other places, the attempt is being made to regenerate the old opportunist International, and to rally all the wavering, undetermined, proletarian elements round it. This renders a sharp distinction necessary between revolutionary proletarian and social traitorous elements.

3. Were the Third International not to be founded by the Moscow Conference, the inference might be drawn that the Communist parties are disunited. This would weaken our position, and deepen the confusion among the irresolute proletarian elements of all countries.

4. The constitution of the Third International is therefore an unconditional historic necessity and must be realised by the Moscow International Communist Conference.

Resolution on the Constitution of a Communist International.

(March 4, 1919.)

The International Communist Conference resolves to constitute itself the Third International, and to call itself the Communist International. The proportion of votes remains unchanged. All parties, organisations and groups retain the right of declaring their adhesion to the Third International within a space of eight months.

Resolution on the Question of Organisation.

In order to commence its activity without loss of time, the Congress immediately proceeds to elect the necessary organs, on the supposition that the final constitution of the Communist International will be given by the next Congress, on the motion of the Bureau.

The leadership of the Communist International is entrusted to an Executive Committee. This is to be composed of one representative each of the Communist parties of the most important countries. The Parties of Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Federation, Switzerland, Scandinavia, are requested immediately to send their representatives. The Parties of countries declaring their adhesion before the Second Congress of the Communist International meets receive a seat on the Executive Committee.

Until the arrival of foreign delegates, the comrades of the country in which the Executive Committee has its seat take the burden of work on themselves.

The Executive Committee elects a Bureau consisting of five members.

Declaration of the Members of the Zimmerwald Conference, made at the Congress of the Communist International at Moscow

THE Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences were of importance at a time when it was imperative to unite all proletarian elements ready to protest, in one form or another, against the imperialist

slaughter that was going on. But, beside quite decidedly Communist elements, other, pacifist or wavering elements of the "centre," joined the Zimmerwald association. These elements of the centre, by the showing of the Berne Conference, now unite with the social-patriots against the revolutionary proletariat, and thus exploit Zimmerwald in the interest of reaction.

At the same time, Communist tendencies have gathered force in various countries, and one of the foremost tasks of the revolutionary proletariat must be the struggle against the "centre" that hampers the development of social revolution.

The Zimmerwald association is no longer a living necessity. All that was really revolutionary in the Zimmerwald association passes into the Communist International.

The undersigned members of the Zimmerwald declare that they consider the Zimmerwald organisation to be dissolved, and request the Bureau of the Zimmerwald Conference to deliver over all its documents into the hands of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

CH. RACOVSKY, N. LENIN, G. ZINOVIEV,
L. TROTSKY, FRITZ PLATTEN.

Resolution on the Zimmerwald Association, Passed by the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

Having received the statement of the Secretary of the Zimmerwald International Socialist Com-

mission, Comrade Balabanova, and the declaration of its members, Comrades Racovsky, Platten, Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinoviev, the First Congress of the Communist International decides :

That the Zimmerwald Association is to be considered liquidated.

Greeting of the Congress to the Red Army.

The Congress of the Communist International sends hearty greetings and its best wishes for complete success in the struggle against international imperialism to the Red Army of Soviet Russia.

Greeting of the Congress to the Ukrainian Working Men.

The Congress of the Communist International sends heartiest greetings to the Ukrainian comrades on occasion of the third Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. The Ukrainian comrades have at last succeeded in conquering the enemy in their own country, and in showing the Allied interventionists that the workmen and poor peasants of Ukraine fight and conquer for the Soviet Republic, and not for any bourgeois rule. Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the Socialist revolution!

List of the Delegates to the First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

March 2-6, 1919.

Country and Party.	Delegate.	Number of Votes.	Country and Party.	Delegate.	Number of Votes.	
1. Communist Party of Germany	ALBERT	5	16. Armenian Communist Party	HEIKUNI	1	
2. Communist Party of Russia	LENIN, TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV, STALIN, BUKHARIN, CHICHERIN, OBOLENSKY (OSSINSKY), VOROVSKY.	5	17. Communist Party of the German Colonies in Russia	KLINGER	1	
3. Communist Party of German-Austria	GRUBER, PETIN	3	18. United Group of the Eastern tribes of Russia	YALIMOV, BIKENTAEV, ALTIMIROV, KASSIMOV, MANSUROV	1	
4. Communist Party of Hungary	RUDNYANSZKY	3	19. French Zimmerwaldian Left	H. GUILBEAUX	5	
5. Swedish Left Social-Democratic Party	GRIMLUND	3	WITH DELIBERATIVE VOICE :			
6. Norwegian Social-Democratic Party	STANG	3	20. Czech Communist Group	GANDLIR		
7. Swiss Social-Democratic Party (Opposition)	PLATTEN	3	21. Bulgarian Communist Group	DJOROV		
8. American Socialist Labour Party	REINSTEIN	5	22. Yugo-Slav Communist Group	MILKICH		
9. Revolutionary Balkan Federation (Bulgarian Tesniaks and Rumanian Communist Party)	RAKOVSKY	3	23. British Communist Group	FINEBERG		
10. Polish Communist Party	UNSCHLICHT (YUROVSKY)	3	24. French Communist Group	SADOUL		
11. Finnish Communist Party	SIROLA, MANNER, KUUSINEN, I. RAHJA, E. RAHJA	3	25. Dutch Social-Democratic Party	RUTGERS		
12. Ukrainian Communist Party	SKRIPNIK, HOPNER	3	26. American League of Socialist Propaganda	RUTGERS		
13. Lettish Communist Party	GAILIS	1	27. Swiss Communist Group	KASHER		
14. Lithuanian & White Russian Communist Party	GEDRIS	1	28. Turkestan	YALIMOV		
15. Communist Party of Estonia	POGELMAN	1	29. Turkish	SUBHI		
			30. Georgian	SHGENTI		
			31. Azerbeidjan	BAGIROV		
			32. Persian	HUSSEINOV		
			33. Chinese Socialist Labour Party	LAU-SIU-DJAU, CHAN-SU-KOY		
			34. Korean Workers League	KAIN		
			35. Zimmerwald Commission	BALABANOVA		

Reports and Chronicle.

Bulgaria and the Imperialists.

THEIR is hardly another country in the world which is suffering from the dire results of the universal imperialist slaughter to such a degree as Bulgaria. No one notices her now: she is struck out of the vocabulary of the universal spoliators. After the collapse of the Bulgarian imperialist bourgeoisie, and its complete capitulation before the conquerors, Bulgaria, squeezed in between her triumphant nationalist-chauvinist imperialist neighbours, occupied by the Allies, cut off from the outer world by a Chinese wall, has become the voiceless and helpless victim of her spoliators. But the proletariat and the peasantry are still alive in Bulgaria, weakened from loss of blood, famishing and torn to pieces in the struggle between the two groups disputing the country.

According to the very scarce but trustworthy information which manages to leak out through the Allies' blockade and isolation, one may see that the pulse of life still beats there, and that the labouring masses are fighting desperately with death.

The bankrupt Bulgarian bourgeoisie does not even seek to lay the blame on any one. It is assuring the people, that a "catastrophe" has occurred and that all are to blame; the bourgeoisie is capitulating before the people and founding all its hopes on the "generosity" of the Allies, especially America.

Life has completely stopped in the country. Business enterprises, factories and works, are all stopped; the means of transport are destroyed to such a degree that trains run along the main lines once in three days. A complete lack of commodities of first necessity and food prevails. Unlimited profiteering and pilfering reigns in the Liquidation Committee of the Food Organisation which was working during the war. Famine rules in the towns, famine rules in the country. Countless numbers of men are out of work in the towns as well as in the country, through lack of cattle and farming stock.

But all this concerns the "valorous" and "noble" Allied imperialists and the heroes of the "League of Nations" but little: they will present their little bill all the same when the time

comes. The Bulgarian proletariat and peasantry will have to pay for the pillaging, brutality, and devastation committed by the Bulgarian imperialists in Serbia, Rumania, Dobrudja, and Macedonia. Whether the conquerors will be satisfied by adding a considerable punitive indemnity to the ten-milliard State debt, or whether they will simply seize the fertile and blood-soaked lands, or the railways, ports, custom houses—will be for the immediate future to show. That the Allies are not inclined to joke with the Bulgarians, may be seen from the revoltingly cynical treatment of the Bulgarian prisoners of war in France. According to information received they are being treated worse than beasts of burden. They are made to do the hardest and dirtiest work, under the most impossible and heavy conditions of labour, receiving bad food and lodging, sweated, jeered at, and knocked about in the most pitiless fashion.

But through all this political and economic nightmare, bright rays of hope are shedding their light over the little country. The united power of the bourgeoisie and the traitor-Socialists in the towns, supported by the French, British, and Italian bayonets, is hardly felt in the country beyond the precincts of towns. The peasants create their own authorities, or do without them. In the army, the numbers of which have dwindled to a minimum (about four divisions), discipline is completely absent; there is neither submission to nor confidence in any authority. Among the workmen strikes and demonstrations are going on, in spite of French bayonets and maxim guns, which are always ready to serve the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, and have already served it more than once.

The only opposition in the country is offered by the Socialists (Tesniaks) who have never been unfaithful to the proletariat, and around whom are grouped not only the proletariat and the peasants, but all the revolutionary forces.

Political balance in Bulgaria, at the present moment, is kept up, thanks to external conditions; but the tension inside the country is too strong and high, and does not exclude the possibility of a revolutionary outbreak, because even

patience has its limits. The Bulgarian proletariat and peasantry will bear the tortures of the Allied imperialists, the bankrupt Bulgarian bourgeoisie, and the Socialist-traitors, no longer. There is too much inflammatory material in Bulgaria; a spark has already fallen on it, in the first revolutionary attempt crushed by German bayonets and artillery; and the fire cannot but break out again. The Allies are only pouring oil on to the flames by their policy. The hopes of the naïve Bulgarian labouring masses—that the Allies would save the country from the German yoke—have not been justified; and they now understand that all imperialists are equally inhuman and equally cruel.

St. DJOROFF.

Galicia between two Soviet Republics.

THE revolution in Austria-Hungary, and the civil war which followed it, have divided Galicia into two inimical camps: Western Galicia, where power has passed into the hands of the Polish nobility in league with the National-Democrats and social-patriots, and Eastern Galicia, where the Russian Nationalists are striving for power. The slaughter began immediately after the fall of the Dual Monarchy, and was the more terrible that both parties attacked each other with savage hatred, and without bothering about the rules of international conventions. Like regular robbers, bands of men in the pay of Polish capitalism seized the town of Przemysl, murdered and slaughtered the peaceful population, and, moving on to Lemberg, surpassed by their cruelty and barbarity all the infamous deeds of the times of the Inquisition known to history. Their brethren in spirit, in the Russian camp, uniting militarily with Petliura, proceeded to compete with them in the gentle art of "pogrom"-making, and gave proof of their abilities in that line in full measure at Proskurov, Tarnopol, and Stanislavov. Such are the last convulsions of the despicable capitalist social order.

After some hesitation, the proletariat understood that two new forms of peace were offered them, the peace of deceit and hypocrisy represented by Wilson, and the peace of liberation of the labouring classes, the Soviet peace, as represented by Lenin. A great revolution then took

place among the masses: assembling under the red banners of Communism they unanimously joined the cry: "All power to the Councils of Workmen and Peasants."

By the irony of fate, even the peasants are fighting against the so-called "People's Government" in Galicia with all the resources of their peasants' logic, although the Ukrainians in Galicia are exclusively country inhabitants.

In Galicia, as everywhere, there exist three categories of peasants: (1) those who own no land at all, and those who have too little to subsist upon; (2) the middle peasants, who have just enough land for their own maintenance; (3) the rich peasants, who, like the landowners in a capitalist society, form the ruling minority.

The men who have been promising the first category of peasants that they will give them land, and who now occupy posts in the General Secretariat of Stanislavov, have proved themselves totally incapable of introducing a land reform; they have awakened the bitter hate of the first category of peasants, forming the majority, and by unpaid-for requisitions prejudicing their petty interests, they have aroused the enmity of the two other categories, and have thus thrown them into the opposition camp.

The Communist groups of the town proletariat, which have already formed, and are still continuing to form, have found their way into the country, and at the same time risings in the Galician garrisons prove that revolution is penetrating into the army.

Events in Hungary have placed Galicia between two Soviet Republics, which has decidedly facilitated the position of the revolutionary masses in the country. This has evidently been understood by the Entente, and this explains its attempts to reconcile Poland and Ukraine, in order to set both against the Bolsheviks.

But the proletariat will no doubt be before them!

A. KORF
(Delegate of the Communist Party
of Eastern Galicia).

Latest News from Germany.

THE entire political life of Germany at the present moment is big with new and hard combats for the Communist ideals. The latest

combats have rendered the differences more acute. The Congress of the Independents proved that the elements which still hesitate between the Socialists of the majority and the Communists will soon be compelled to show their real colours. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet system, the International revolution, a lucid attitude towards Soviet Russia—all these problems, which have become a question of life or death for the class-conscious German proletariat, demand a definite and unambiguous decision. The conduct of the members of the Congress at the Berne Conference of the Yellow International (Kautsky's report) was very characteristic, and the absolute incapacity of the "Independent" hybrids to come to a clear understanding in respect to the contemporary political life in Germany, was plainly manifested at the re-elections to the chair of the Independent Socialist Party, signalled by the victory of Left elements.

The sessions of the Second Congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates in Berlin confirm these traits in the picture of modern Germany. The instability of this organisation, looked upon by the Government with scorn (manifested on the occasion of the question of immunity for the Congress of Councils, and of the demand for the liberation of Ledebour, and the second representative of the Magdeburg Council, Brandes); the sharp criticism of the Scheidemann volunteers and the regiments of the frontier guard, transformed, as Seeman (Koenigsberg) remarked, into a tool of the Agrarians; the demand for the abolition of orders and decorations; the resolution passed against the levying of volunteers; the demand for the revocation of the state of siege; the demand for a universal amnesty; the stormy debates on the subject of the universal strike in the Ruhr province (Mr. Schmidt, Food Controller, remarked with regret that "the principal demands of the miners were of a political, not economic, nature")—all this serves to show the growing differentiation in the inner structure of the German working masses. Richard Müller, the leader of the Left at the Congress, expressed the discontent of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates by sharply emphasising the acutest mistrust towards the Central Council. "The masses are disappointed. Measures are being applied which the most savage reaction had never had recourse to before. The National Assembly has finally run

aground, and the people are disgusted. The movement cannot be stopped, even by a whole ocean of blood." One of the Democrats pointed out with sorrow, in his speech, that the Germans, as ever, value not what they have, but what comes from abroad. "The latest fashion is Russian Bolshevism." The Congress was nevertheless compelled to send a greeting to the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Regarding the Bavarian Soviet Republic, the Congress took up an observant attitude.

The flames of the great conflagration of the German proletarian Communist revolution are blazing up. In Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, in the whole Ruhr province, in Magdeburg, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dantzig, Würzburg, Braunschweig, Schweinfurt, München, Nürnberg, Fürth, Koenigsberg, the proletariat stands for a Soviet Republic, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reactionary organisations, with the social-patriotic traitors at their head, will not be able to suppress the movement with steel and blood. The working class has marked out its way; and, hand in hand with the proletariat of the world, it will march on to the final victory of the international Communist revolution.

JAMES GORDON.

The Revolutionary Movement in French Switzerland.

AFTER the universal strike in November, 1918, called forth by the expulsion of the delegation of the Russian Soviet Republic, the revolutionary movement spread over almost the whole of Switzerland. The Congress of the Third International gave a new impulse to this movement, infusing a more radical and openly Communist tendency into it. The success of the revolutionary movement is particularly great in the cantons of Basel and Zürich; and there is no doubt that, should the Communist movement in Bavaria reach Baden, both these cantons would almost automatically pass over to Communism. In German Switzerland the workmen are generally well organised, and the ruling classes involuntarily have to recognise this and obey their demands, which are supported by the representatives of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. Unfortunately, in French Switzerland, the poorest part of the country, both in a material and in a moral sense, affairs are much worse.

With the exception of La Chaux-de-Fonds, the revolutionary sprouts are shooting up but slowly. Part of the workers are not only strangers to the revolution, but even to Syndicalism and Socialism. This is in a great measure due to the opportunism of the leaders. Thus, even at the very moment when it was necessary to excite and awake the masses, the most eminent of the leaders of the movement, the national councillors Karl Naine and Graber, suddenly began to give counter-steam—protesting against Bolshevism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and all revolutionary action and spoke in praise of reforms and so-called "democracy." In La-Chaux-de-Fonds there was a decisive struggle between Graber and Humbert Droz, the editor of the daily paper *Sentinelle*, which was edited by P. Graber up to April 1. Karl Naine came out with a sharp attack against Humbert Droz in the *Sentinelle*, and published a pamphlet in German and in French—with a preface of the well-known Russian counter-revolutionary journalist Zvesdich—against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The election of Karl Naine as chief editor of the weekly journal, *Droit du Peuple*, published in Lausanne, which afterwards became a daily paper, serves to prove the tendency of the leaders of the district of Lausanne towards Menshevism. The former editor, P. Holey, who, although not a pure Bolshevik, still showed more radical tendencies than Karl Naine, was set aside.

In Geneva the struggle was still more stubborn, but here the Internationalists conquered. They succeeded in producing a split in the party, and in eliminating all the social-patriotic and counter-revolutionary elements led by Jean Sigg, the confidant of the French agents in Switzerland. Owing to the efforts of the international Communist group and its paper, *La Nouvelle Internationale*, they radicalised the movement to such an extent that, at the Berne Congress, one of the Geneva sections voted for the resolution of Schneider, with Platten's amendment, in which he pronounced himself against the participation of the Swiss Socialist Party in the Conference of the Yellow International at Berne.

The censure of the members of the Olten Committee of Action, and the manifesto published by them, are the realistic results of the revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, the exaggerated apprehensions evinced by the Swiss Government, and the arduous campaign under-

taken by the counter-revolutionary Press, prove that it is possible to look on the position of the revolutionary movement in Switzerland with optimism.

ANDRE CARTIGNY.

The Socialist Movement in Finland.

THE Finnish Communist Party was founded on August 29, 1918. After the class war, which continued in Finland from the end of January till the beginning of May, 1918, when the Red Party was defeated owing to the intervention of German Imperialism, and when terror began to reign in the country, a change took place in the minds of the Finnish Social-Democrats who had escaped to Russia. Part of them were previously already inclined towards Communism, and now the rest as well began to abjure Kautsky and to pass over to the Communists. The same process took place in Finland itself—in the concentration camps, where about 80,000 were languishing, and in the small circles of trustworthy comrades. And when the emigrants in Russia proceeded, during the summer of 1918, to the publication of Bolshevik papers and literature, the Finnish proletariat was quite ready to accept the only theory capable of correctly evaluating the revolutionary events of the elapsed year, and of giving hopes for the future. The further development of the universal revolution, while rousing the spirits of the revolutionary proletariat in Finland itself, at the same time encouraged the efforts of the Communists in emigration and within the country.

The Social-Democratic Party, which was re-founded in Finland out of the elements of the right wing of the old party, though it had enrolled into its ranks a great many workmen, very soon provoked an opposition against its tactics within the organisation itself. The Left Wing is subjecting the tactics of the party to sharp criticism. But our Communist comrades must still wage an "underground" war against both the bourgeois terror and against the conciliatory policy of Social-Democracy.

Besides the open lynch-law terror of the "Guard Corps" (the White Guard), there exists also a legal "ochrana," on best Tsarist lines. At the examinations all the tortures of the Inquisition are applied. The shooting down of pris-

oners still goes on. Thus, lately information was received concerning five cases of men having been shot on the suspicion that they were revolutionary emissaries. This policy is applied with particular zeal at the Russian frontier, where there is a strong fear of "Bolshevist infection."

The political situation is characterised by a ministerial crisis. After the German revolution, the bloody government of Svinhufvud, which sold Finland to German imperialism, was replaced by a government of the same kind with Mannerheim at the head. This change was made in order to satisfy the Entente. But governing even with a "reduced" Parliament (the Social-Democrats were all exiled or imprisoned) was becoming more and more impossible, and new elections took place on March 1—3. Our Party, naturally, boycotted them. On April 1 a new Diet assembled, consisting of: the Coalition Party (monarchs) 27, Swedes 22, "Progressists" (republicans) 28, Agrarians (peasants) 42, Christian workmen 2, Social-Democrats 81. At the present moment the Progressists and the Agrarians are endeavouring to form a Parliamentary government, in order to cheat the people and satisfy the Entente. The Social-Democrat leaders would willingly join them, but, under pressure of the workers, the group was compelled to insist on the following conditions: amnesty for the Red Party, excepting murderers and incendiaries; a revision of the lease-laws and those on military conscription; the dismissal of the "ochrana" and political police; the repealing of decisions of the previous Diet which had not yet entered into force of law; a constitution with a president elected for a term of three years, and without the right of veto or of dissolving the Parliament. As none of the bourgeois parties at the present moment deem the acceptance of these conditions necessary, a bourgeois government of the centre will probably be formed. The latter will naturally be unable to stop the further development of the internal crisis. The economic situation is getting worse and worse, owing to the considerable import and insignificant export. The finances of the State are in a sorry condition; the rates and taxes are laying a heavy burden on the masses, and arousing growing discontent among the peasantry. The new duties on grain and other articles are raising the prices of the commodities of first necessity. Scarcity of work is causing disturbances among the workmen.

Social conflicts are thus growing more and more acute.

The great question in Finland is the position in respect to international Bolshevism. The desires of the Entente and the hopes of the Finnish (save the mark) imperialists tend towards a participation in the struggle against Soviet Russia. The "throne speech" of Mannerheim contains the following statement: "We cannot look with indifference on the sufferings and persecutions which our compatriots living beyond the precincts of Finland are subjected to in their staunch struggle for their national aims." This concerns Estonia, where the Finns are fighting on the side of the White Party, as well as Russian Karelia (Olonetz, Murman, Kola), which the Finnish irredentists are hoping to regain. In answer to the interpellation on the subject by the Social-Democrats, the Premier replied half negatively and half evasively, and the Government obtained a vote of confidence by 96 to 63 (20 mandates were cancelled).

It is clear that the White Party in Finland intends war, but it does not dispose of sufficient forces for the purpose. The frame of mind of the working class is known well enough, nor are the peasants any more inclined to war. Part of the bourgeoisie is evidently not disinclined to acquire the Russian market for export. Most of the soldiers are unreliable, and the White Guard has enough to do to keep up law and order inside the country. The assistance of the Entente has shown itself only in insignificant food supplies, and, maybe, in some military munitions and short visits of French and American officers. The relations between Finland and Sweden are fairly cool, on account of the Aland Islands, claimed by Sweden. The organisation of Russian Black Hundred elements in Finland is rousing opposition in the country. The international situation particularly warns against such adventures. Should, however, such an attempt still be made, the interior crisis would become to the last degree acute.

In one way or another, further development will lead to the growth of the revolutionary movement. The progress of the universal proletarian revolution is inspiring the proletariat, and the Finnish Communists greet the formation of the Third Communist International—the hope of the proletarians of the whole world.

The Frame of Mind of the French Proletariat.

WHILE Messrs. Wilson, Orlando, and Pichon are dividing among themselves the old and battered world, revolutionary fermentation, seeking for new forms leading to the creation of a new world, is penetrating deeper and deeper into the working masses, little interested in the chatter of diplomats. Strikes in Lyons; the general strike of transport workers in Paris, when the government militarised the omnibuses, the trams, and the Metropolitan railway; disturbances in the army; the deepening schism in the Socialist Party and in the Unions—all these are signs of the growing tempest, a tempest of a yet unseen depth and force. The bourgeoisie knows only one means of reprisals: persecution, arrests, systematical assaulting of workmen returning from meetings. . . . Almost simultaneously Villain, the murderer of Jaurès, is acquitted, and Cottin—a soldier wounded in the last war, but a Syndicalist—whose revolver bullet merely scratched the skin of the old "tiger" is sentenced to death. A symbolical picture: a simple soldier judges and condemns the bourgeoisie in the person of Clemenceau—and is shot for the attempt; a fanatical disciple of the royalists murders the leader of the best part of the French nation, and is acquitted. What is this but a challenge to white terror? Names and facts change, but the policy is always the same: in Paris Henri Guilbeaux is sentenced to death for imaginary high treason; in Odessa Jeanne Labourbe is shot by order of the French command. The first blows have been struck; accounts will soon be settled now!

It is interesting to watch the French Press of the last weeks from this point of view. The bourgeois Press may continue its campaign of libel to its heart's content, publishing lengthy commentaries on the death of Kropotkin, murdered by the Bolsheviks (!) at the same time omitting, as does the *Temps*, essential parts of Chicherin's radio containing the peace proposals of the Soviet Government; all its efforts are in vain. Under the pressure of a new spirit, which has at present seized the majority of the working masses, all the papers read by the workmen of the larger towns defend, more or less jealously, in their every issue, the Russian Soviets. *Le Populaire*, the organ of Jean Longuet's group, *Le Journal du Peuple*, edited by

Henri Fabre, and a whole pleiade of Radical journalists, grouped around these papers (Henri Barbusse, Leon Werth, Georges Pioch, Sévérine, Fernand Deprès, Victor Méric—not mentioning our real friends, such as R. Verfeuil, Loriot, A. Dunois, P. Faure) are doing successful work towards acquainting French society with the real state of affairs in Russia.

The organ of the Syndicalists, *L'Avenir International*, and the Anarchist newspapers—forbidden at present—*Ce qu'il faut dire*, *La Plèbe*, *Franchise*, all devote their energies to the defence of the Russian revolution and Soviets. As a contrast, one is obliged to cite the sorry attitude of the renegades of the revolution, the group of the newspaper, *Bataille*, some time "Syndicalist."

Not small is the number of those who formerly were decided enemies of the Soviets, and who would have remained so till the present day had they not been dependent on the masses: they were bound to stand up for the Soviets in order not to lose the favour of the proletariat. One cannot put any other construction on the conduct of the representatives of the centre or minority, from Longuet to Brizon—the likes of Moutet, Lafont, Mayéras and others—who, although defending the Soviets, nevertheless steadfastly sacrifice their revolutionary duty to a mythical "unity," and refuse to declare themselves partisans of the Spartacists shot by transrhenane Renaudels; and, what is worse, they stoop to spread about the base libel brought forth by the bourgeois Press and bourgeois jurisdiction against the genuine French Communists (comments of Mayéras on the condemnation of Guilbeaux).

The greatest importance is certainly to be attached to the fact that the French working masses no longer permit attacks against the Soviets; they demand their defence, and their imitation. Georges Pioch—who is far from Bolshevism—wrote not long in *Les Hommes du Jour*:

"If, with the development of the revolution in Germany, the country were to be seized by the same generous, just, and fertile 'disorders' that are creating a new Russia, then who but Lenin, Trotsky, and their 'illiterate' representatives, will prove to be the saviours of Europe? . . .

"And who is working with such enthusiasm—not only for the Russian, but for all other

nations—but the same much-decried Lenin, Trotsky, and their disciples, their brothers?"

Such lines from the pen of a young author widely read by the younger part of the population only confirm the profound change in the mood of the French proletariat, and its sympathy with the Russian Soviets, which, in spite of ruthless reaction, in spite of the despotic rule of Clemenceau, are loudly acclaimed at every meeting of French working men.

VICTOR-SERGE.

Chronicle of the Revolutionary Movement.

GREAT BRITAIN. Never was middle-class England, accustomed to rule unrestrained on the foreign as well as the inner arena, so little sure of the coming day. It is sufficient to look through a parcel of English newspapers to discover the signs of a deep fermentation in the minds of the popular masses. In Ireland, the Republican and Sinn Fein campaign is continuing. De Valera, the Sinn Fein leader, succeeds in escaping from a British prison and returning to Ireland. In Glasgow, strikes and riots. Under the pressure of public opinion, all the "conscientious objectors" have little by little been released. The Labour Party demands the immediate abolition of conscription. The revolutionary spirit of the working masses is growing, and their ideas tend towards a definite object; instead of the old mottoes of Trade Unionism, three of the largest organisations—the coalminers, the transport workers, and the railwaymen—have put forth a demand which not long ago would have seemed a chimera to the sober Briton; to wit: the nationalisation of coal mines, the means of transport, and the railways. Their representatives are in negotiation on the subject with Lloyd George, who at last was obliged to promise to draw up a bill on such nationalisation.

However, the "india-rubber" policy of British diplomacy will no longer succeed in directing the Labour movement easily and smoothly in the even channel of give and take. The sharp debates at the Labour Conference in London ("the Labour Parliament") show a deep change in the ideology of the British workman. This ideology is fast becoming revolutionary, and such a process is facilitated by the

foreign policy of England and the aggravation of the food crisis (specialists aver that during many years to come England will experience a shortage of many commodities of first necessity, especially of meat). The bourgeois Press naturally lays the blame on Bolshevism, and tries to invent a means of guarding against this malignant bacillus. Yes, something has changed in "old" England, and it is not without reason that Lloyd George has refused to send British soldiers to Russia. . . .

BELGIUM. The unfortunate country, tortured by the four-years' slaughter, cannot come to rest yet. The economic situation of Belgium is appalling. Her industry is completely destroyed, and the food question is in a distressing state. The Premier, Vandervelde, who insisted on "a complete victory over Germany," and who considered it to be the only means of saving his country, at present recognises that the situation is almost irreparable: industries are ruined, 740,000 men are out of work, and receive from the State $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs (which amounts to over one million) per day. Immediate relief is necessary; otherwise it will be impossible to avoid "excesses"; such is the conclusion drawn by the Belgian Minister, a former "Socialist." But the Belgian proletariat will draw its own conclusions, namely, that the only way to save the country is the universal Communist revolution.

SPAIN. The revolutionary movement in Spain is growing wider and deeper every day. At the head of the movement are the Syndicalists of Barcelona, who fully share the Communist point of view, and warmly welcome the Russian revolution. The names of two new papers are very characteristic: *El Maximalista* (the Maximalist) and *El Soviet* (The Soviet). The continuing aggravation of the economic situation calls forth stormy outbursts of discontent among the people. In Madrid a demonstration against the rising food prices passed into a pillaging of the bakers' shops and had to be suppressed by main force; there were hundreds of wounded, over three hundred arrested; martial law was proclaimed in the town.

In Ferrol there were analogous riots; the crowd seized the wares of the "profiteering" traders and burnt them in the public squares. In places where the workers are more or less organised, the movement bears a less primitive character. In all the industrial centres strikes are incessant. The general strike in Barcelona

was particularly well organised, and the newspapers recognised that "the syndicalists had practically taken the whole mechanism of civilised life into their hands." The Government answered by repealing all constitutional guarantees, by introducing a censorship of the Press, and by attempts to replace the strikers by engineering troops. V.M.

In SWEDEN the "peace crisis" is very apparent. Men are out of work in the machine, bootmaking, and other industries. Prices are continually rising, and wages falling. The Liberal-Social-Democratic Government has done nothing during its eighteen months' existence. The insignificant constitutional reform in December is totally insufficient. Universal suffrage for communal and Parliamentary elections, by means of which the contingent of the first chamber is established, is paralysed by the age qualification (28 years of age for the first chamber).

The confidence of the masses in the traitor-Socialists, with the well-known Entente agent and Bolshevik-eater Branting at its head, is losing ground. The Left Social-Democratic Party is accepting the Marxist credo, and freeing itself from ideologico- "humanitarian" elements unfavourable to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The question of the relation to Bolshevism is becoming more and more imminent owing to the recruiting of White Guards for the Baltic provinces. A fatal moment for this recruiting was the plot hatched by the Lett Recruiting Bureau and the Swedish officers with the Baltic barons against the Lett Republics. It is to be hoped that the struggle of our comrades against the recruiting of White Guards will become more and more active.

In DENMARK the dockers' strike could not prevent the embarking of a certain number of White Guards. But it served to prove that our comrades are at work there.

In NORWAY agitation is increasing among the working masses. The building, metallurgical, and other workers are ready to strike. The eight hours' day is being practically introduced. The ministerial dreams of the Right Socialists are fast receding before debates on democracy and dictatorship, before the question of adhesion to the Communist International, and before the practical problems of general strikes and active anti-militarism.

The ministerial crises in the Scandinavian countries prove that the frame of mind of the masses compels the capitalists everlasting to be anxious for the fate of their dictatorship. Although there are no signs of a definite revolutionary movement as yet, nevertheless the conditions of internal politics, and particularly the great events abroad will continue to direct the minds of the workers into a more radical channel.

S.

Arrest of Friedrich Platten.

FRIEDRICH PLATTEN, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has been arrested in Helsingfors. Coming to Russia to the Congress of the Third International as a delegate of the Swiss Communists, he was returning to his own country through Finland, when he was arrested in Helsingfors. A member of Parliament who desired to see him, and applied for a permit to headquarters, was refused it, and was told that Comrade Platten had been detained as a "Russian (!) hostage."

Soviet Russia and the Nations of the World.

Under this title the publishing office of the Petrograd Soviet issued a booklet on the international meeting held December 19th, 1918, in Petrograd. This meeting was one of the links in the creation of the new "internationality." Instead of giving an account of the meeting, the "Communist International" quotes the preface to the booklet, written by Maxim Gorky, chairman of the meeting.

THE international meeting of December 19 was a festival of the Russian proletariat; and I could

wish that this great day of the Russian revolution should be remembered by working men for a long time, for ever.

It is not the speeches that are so important, it is not the new and vivid words spoken to the Russian people by the representatives of various countries and nations of Europe and Asia—what is significant and momentous is the feeling of ardent confidence in toiling Russia, and the deep

comprehension of her historic rôle, expressed by twenty-three orators.

Hindu and Korean, Englishman, Persian, Frenchman, Chinese, Turk, and all the rest spoke, in essence, of one and the same thing: of imperialism which, involved by its greed in senseless and infamous slaughter, is now drowning in the blood of the nations it intoxicated, and has dug its own grave. It has laid bare, with appalling clearness, to the eyes of the entire working world, its inhumanity and its cynicism.

But not this criticism—well known and familiar of old to the workers' ears—of the disappearing social order, not the verdict of international justice on the gang of international pirates now wrangling among themselves about the sharing of the loot—none of all this, I say, was the real meaning of the meeting.

Its real meaning was in that unanimous feeling, a funeral dirge of the past and a joyous annunciation of the future, which summoned the nations to the aid of young revolutionary Russia, and called the toilers of the earth to help her. There sounded, in every speech, the note of confidence that Russia, by the will of history taking on herself the part of being the vanguard of Socialism, would play this, her great and difficult part, with honour and success, and would draw the nations after her in the road to the new life.

It was wonderful to listen to these many-tongued speeches, full of a single feeling: and once more we knew that only the rationally-directed will of the people is capable of working miracles.

And is it not a miracle indeed? Since the end of the eighteenth century, the people of monarchic Russia have been doing the bloody and ignominious work of extinguishing all revolutionary and liberating movements, east and west; our soldiers in their blindness fought the revolutionary army of the great French Revolution, more than once mercilessly put down the national revolutionary movement in Poland, helped monarchic Austria to annihilate the Hungarian revolution, smothered the Turkish constitution in '78 and '79, violated Persia, drowned the national movement in China in blood, played the part of butchers of liberty wherever the selfish and cowardly hand of autocracy directed.

And behold, the eyes and hearts of all the nations, of all the workers of the earth, are now fixed upon this people; all look upon the Russian nation in firm hope, with the conviction, that it

will worthily and with might carry out the task it has taken on itself of being the force that is to free the world from the rusty chains of the past.

This confidence, this hope, was expressed with the greatest clearness in the speech of Comrade Yusupov, the representative of Turkestan and Bokhara: it was he who expressed the universal, the planetary significance of the Russian revolution the most ardently and the most convincingly.

"Do not complain of difficulties," he said, "you have begun a work demanding enormous sacrifices, demanding self-denial, unyielding courage, unselfishness and ceaseless toil."

Such was the sense of his speech, and truly it could not have been said more in time.

Indeed, the attention of the whole world is intent upon the Russian Socialist worker. He must pass, as it were, a test of his political maturity before the eyes of humanity: he appears before the peoples of the earth as the creator of new forms of life. For the first time an attempt is being made, on a gigantic scale, to realise the ideas of Socialism, an attempt to put into practice, in real life, the theory that may be called the working man's religion.

The fixed attention of toiling humanity towards Russia is but natural—we are doing universal, nay, planetary work.

And the intense interest of the working world in the Russian Socialist obliges him to hold his banner high, and to grip it fast. By the will of history, he is a teacher and an example to hundreds of thousands, to millions of men. In spite of all the difficulty of the conditions in which he lives, he must be courageous, firm, wisely magnanimous, unselfish, and stubborn in his work.

He must remember that he himself is not untouched by the poison instilled into humanity by property; he must know that cruelty, brutality to one's fellows, and everything the old world stood upon, is inoculated into his own flesh and blood too.

A free man, he still looks on labour with the eyes of the slave, like the ox on the yoke. And yet only strained, stubborn, unselfish toil can root out the deep-seated evils of the old world.

I do not think these anxious thoughts out of place here, at the head of speeches in praise of the Russian working man at his first international festival.

Comrades! The toilers of the entire earth look to you with ardent hope: they expect to

see new, honourable, unselfish men, indefatigable at the work of building up a new world.

Show yourselves, then, to the entire earth in the shape of new men, show the world all that

is best and most human in you—your love, your magnanimity, your incorruptible honesty, your readiness to toil.

M. GORKY.

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KARL LIEBKNECHT. *My Case.* Translation from the German. Preface by G. Zinoviev. With a portrait of Karl Liebknecht. (Petrograd, 1918; pp. 215; price 8 r.)

KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG. *Speeches of G. Zinoviev and L. Trotsky, delivered at the session of the Petrograd Soviet on January 18, 1919.* (32 pp.; price 1 r. 15 k.)

S. A. KATAYA. *The Bourgeois Terror in Finland.* (Petrograd, 1919; 32 pp.; price 1 r. 40 k.)

THE book of Karl Liebknecht, "My Case," must be the first to be dealt with in this column. It is a collection of official documents concerning the action against Karl Liebknecht. The first of these is a warrant for the arrest of the "soldier of the labour battalion," Karl Liebknecht, for participation in the demonstration on the first of May, 1916, as well as because he is "under suspicion of having wilfully promoted the interests of an enemy Power during the war," which, if translated from the language of the bourgeoisie into that of common humanity, means that he was hostile to the war and to the bourgeoisie. Reading these dry official reports and acts, one almost sees this wonderful man doing his heroic work, so simply and so humanly, so without the slightest affectation or pomposity. On the cover of the book, as if in prescience of Liebknecht's tragic death, a broken sword and a crown of thorns.

"He died—he lives." These two dead—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg—who in life went hand in hand, but whose names their death united still closer—having died, are all the more

dangerous to their murderers. Their names are a banner summoning to the last battle. The publishing office of the Petrograd Soviet has issued a booklet with the speeches of Comrades G. Zinoviev and L. Trotsky consecrated to the memory of the murdered comrades, and delivered under the fresh impression of that great loss. The reader finds a short but precise sketch, a picture of the inner hearts and an appreciation of the significance to the revolutionary Communist movement of the two murdered heroes. Much will yet be written about Liebknecht and Luxemburg; but these first ardent speeches, this parting greeting of the leaders of the Russian revolution to the leaders of the German revolution, will retain their value for ever.

The publishing office of the Petrograd Soviet recently brought out a new booklet, by S. A. Kataya, entitled "The Bourgeois Terror in Finland." It is a book of facts, containing an infinitesimal fraction of the horrors perpetrated by the exultant bourgeoisie in Finland. Wholesale fusillades, executions, torture, a frenzy of brutal butchery, extirpation of all that is fresh, ardent and honourable, abuse of the unhappy victims—such is the White Terror in that small northern country, as in every other. The Versailles butchers did the same in Paris in '71. The same things are being done by White Guards on all fronts of all countries. There is no reason for indignation—we know our enemy well enough, and know what to expect of him. But the reading of this little book would do no harm to those who hypocritically pretend to be shocked at that Red Terror to which the proletarian revolution is forced to resort in critical moments.

V.M.

